













**OBSERVATIONS**  
ON THE  
**Present State**  
OF THE  
**EAST INDIA COMPANY;**  
WITH  
**PREFATORY REMARKS**

ON THE  
**ALARMING INTELLIGENCE LATELY RECEIVED**  
**FROM MADRAS,**

AS TO THE  
**General Disaffection**

Prevailing amongst the Natives of every Rank, from an Opinion  
that it is the Intention of the British Government to compel  
them to embrace Christianity ;

THE  
**P R O C L A M A T I O N**  
ISSUED BY THE  
**GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL ON THIS SUBJECT ;**

AND  
**A PLAN**

**UMBLY SUBMITTED TO THE CONSIDERATION OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS,**  
**THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, AND THE LEGISLATURE,**

FOR  
**Restoring that Confidence, which the Natives formerly reposed**  
**in the Justice and Policy of the British Government, as to**  
**the Security of their Religion, Laws, and local Customs.**

**BY MAJOR SCOTT WARING.**

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## P R E F A C E.

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UPON one important subject of the following pamphlet, I have lately received additional information, which I am induced to publish, in the hope that it may attract the attention of the East India Company and the Legislature. On the 3d of December 1806, the following Proclamation was issued at Madras :

### “ A PROCLAMATION.

“ The Right Hon. the Governor in Council, having observed that in some late instances an extraordinary degree of agitation has prevailed among several corps of the native army of this coast, it has been his Lordship's particular endeavour to ascertain the motives which may have led to conduct so different from that which formerly distinguished the native army. From this inquiry it has appeared that many persons of evil intention, have endeavoured, for malicious purposes, to impress upon the native troops a belief that it is the wish of the British Government to convert them by forcible means to Christianity ; and his Lordship in Council has observed with concern that such malicious reports have been believed by many of the native troops.

“ The Right Hon. the Governor in Council therefore deems it proper in this public manner, to repeat to the native troops his assurance, that the same respect which has been invariably shewn by the British Government for their religion and for their customs, will be always continued ; and that no interruption will be given to any native, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, in the practice of his religious ceremonies.

“ His Lordship in Council desires that the native troops will not give belief to the idle rumours which are circulated by enemies of their happiness, who endeavour, with the basest designs, to weaken the confidence of the troops in the British Government. His Lordship in Council desires that the native troops will remember the constant attention and humanity which have been shewn by the British Government, in providing for their comfort, by augmenting the pay of the native officers and Sepoys ; by allowing liberal pensions to those who have done their duty faithfully ; by making ample provision for the families of those who may have died in battle ; and by receiving their children into the service of the Hon. Company, to be treated with the same care and bounty as their fathers had experienced.

“ The Right Hon. the Governor in Council trusts that the native troops, remembering these circumstances, will be sensible of the happiness of their situation, which is greater than what the troops of

any other part of the world enjoy, and that they will continue to observe the same good conduct for which they were distinguished in the days of General Lawrence, of Sir Eyre Coote, and of other renowned heroes.

“ The native troops must at the same time be sensible, that if they should fail in the duties of their allegiance, and should shew themselves disobedient to their officers, their conduct will not fail to receive merited punishment, as the British Government is not less prepared to punish the guilty, than to protect and distinguish those who are deserving of its favour.

“ It is directed that this paper be translated with care into the Tamul, Telinga, and Hindoostany languages; and that copies of it be circulated to each native battalion, of which the European officers are enjoined and ordered to be careful in making it known to every native officer and Sepoy under his command.

“ It is also directed, that copies of the paper be circulated to all the Magistrates and Collectors under this Government, for the purpose of being fully understood in all parts of the country.

“ Published by order of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council.

“ G. BUCHAN, Chief Sec. to Govt.

“ *Dated in Fort St. George, 3d Dec. 1806.*”

That the necessity of issuing such a Proclamation should have arisen, must appear most wonderful indeed to all those, who, like myself, resided in India some years ago, when it was a fixed principle, both of Government and of all British subjects, never to interfere with the natives on points that trenched upon their religion, their laws, or their local customs.

If the Madras Government had not given the natives the most serious cause for alarm, in various instances, the efforts of discontented men to infuse suspicions in their minds, would have been fruitless. No indulgence shewn to our native troops, in the article of an increase of pay, or in making provision for their families, will do good until we convince them by acts, not by words, that we never did entertain the wild idea, of *compelling* them to embrace Christianity, and still further, that we have not a wish to convert them.

Let me call to the recollection of the East India Company and the Legislature what passed in England in 1781, at a moment of general alarm for the safety of India, in a case undoubtedly important, but *trifling* on a comparison with the dangers which are likely to ensue from the folly of our conduct in the present day.

In that year, a question came before Parliament in consequence of a petition from the Governor General and Council of Bengal (Mr. Hastings, Sir Philip Francis, and Mr. Wheeler). They had deemed it indispensably necessary for the safety of

Bengal, to oppose the authority of the Supreme Court of Justice, by protecting the Rajah of Cossijun, a Hindoo, from the legal process of that Court. The Court attempted, by sending a number of armed Europeans from Calcutta, to execute its own process, and various acts of outrage were committed, violating in the greatest degree the religion, laws, and customs of the natives of Bengal. The alarm was universal in the provinces, and nothing but the firmness and decision of the Bengal government could have restored the public tranquillity.

The question came before Parliament, on the petition from the Governor General and Council, praying that a Bill of Indemnity might secure them from the legal penalties incurred by having resisted the Supreme Court of Judicature. The petition went to a committee, and after their report had been made to the House, a Bill of Indemnity to the Governor General and Council, and another Bill for fixing the authority of the Supreme Court on narrower bounds, passed the Legislature. In the course of the discussions which this subject occasioned, there appeared to be but *one opinion*, in Parliament, in the East India Company, and in the nation at large, and it was this, that any attempt to interfere with the religion, the laws, or the local customs of India, must inevitably tend to the destruction of the British power: that the people of India were entitled upon every principle of justice, as well as policy, to the full enjoyment



of their own religion, laws, and customs. Those gentlemen who will take the trouble to peruse the petition to the House of Commons, drawn up by Mr. Hastings, when he was Governor General of Bengal, and look to the Parliamentary History of 1781, will receive much valuable and useful information, which they may advantageously employ at the present most alarming crisis. One eloquent and enlightened member said, "The antiquity of  
 " the Gentoo civilization, laws, religion, and cus-  
 " toms, fortified by the *invincible attachment*  
 " which it produced in the people, had in *all ages*  
 " procured the political attention, if not the re-  
 " spect, of the most ferocious and barbarous of  
 " its various conquerors. However the people  
 " were oppressed or pillaged, their prejudices in  
 " this respect were *sacred and inviolate*."

It is not by our trifling European force that we have retained the British empire in India, for more than forty years, but by our invariable attention to the natives, as to their religion, their laws, and local customs.

The very peculiar situation of the Government of Madras, as contrasted with that of Bengal, should have made the former doubly cautious of adopting any measure, which by possibility might disgust the people, and more especially the native troops, on whose fidelity and attachment the security and permanence of our empire must ultimately depend.

When we acquired our empire in Bengal, the late Lord Clive with true wisdom conducted every branch of the government by native officers, so that the change was scarcely perceptible. By slow degrees, we took into our own hands the collection of the revenues and the administration of justice, agreeably to the laws of the Koran and the Shastah. To the entire satisfaction of the people, every branch of internal government is conducted by the civil servants of the Company, who, speaking of them collectively, possess talents, application, and integrity, in a very eminent degree.

But at Madras, in one moment as I may say, the native government of the Carnatic, and of Tippoo Sultan's dominions, was destroyed. Men of the highest rank were at once reduced from consequence to absolute insignificance, and from affluence to poverty. The change was not gradual as in Bengal, from a native to an English administration; and in this period it was, that by an act of the Madras government a general spirit of dissatisfaction was excited among the native troops, by so important a change in their dress, that it was by no means *irrational* in them to believe, what the discontented natives asserted, that the British Government was determined to *compel* them to embrace Christianity.

To change the form of a turban into any form that bears the most distant resemblance to a hat, to take off the red mark from the forehead, the

ear-rings from the ears, and to prescribe a pattern for the cut of the beard, all of these marks of the religion of Mahomedans or Hindoos, were sufficient to create an universal alarm, connected as these changes were represented to them, with the great increase of English missionaries of late years, and the gratuitous distribution of our sacred Scriptures throughout the whole country.

From later information I have reason to believe that the sons of Tippoo Sultaun are innocent of the charge preferred against them; but the disaffected men of the Carnatic and the Mysore did take advantage of our folly, and that they excited the troops to a *religious mutiny*, the most to be dreaded of all others, is beyond a doubt. Indeed, the fact is fully admitted in the Proclamation of Government. It is clear also, that the apprehensions of the natives were not removed by the solemn assurances contained in the Proclamation. If therefore India is deemed worth preserving, we should endeavour to regain the confidence of the people, by the immediate recall of every English missionary, and by prohibiting every person in the Company's service from taking a part in circulating the translations of the Holy Scriptures in Hindostan.

I sincerely applaud the Christian zeal and liberality of the various missionary societies, and I conceive that their exertions on the continent of Africa, amongst the savages in America, and in

the islands of the South Seas, may be productive of much good, and the field is large enough for the employment of fifty thousand missionaries. In India the missionaries, and the liberality of the Bible Society, can produce nothing but mischief. No man can have resided long in India, if he possessed common observation, without a conviction in his mind, that the most bigotted Catholic of the 15th century was not more fully convinced of the Pope's infallibility, than the Hindoos and Mahomedans are of the truth of their respective religions.

A very high authority, and one that I greatly respect, has observed, that after the most minute investigation, it does not appear, that the missionaries were directly or indirectly concerned in the Vellore mutiny. I admit the fact most fully, and then I am asked, why is it that I propose the recall of the English missionaries, as a measure of absolute necessity? The reason is obvious. The Proclamation, explicit as it is, has not lulled the suspicions of the people. As late as March, three months after the date of the Proclamation, so universal was the dread of a general revolt amongst our native troops, that the British officers attached to the native corps constantly slept with loaded pistols under their pillows. The natural and obvious conclusion is, that certain events have occurred of late years in India, which have made so deep an impression on the minds of the

natives, that they no longer retain that *confidence*, which they once reposed in the solemn assurances of the *British Government*.

We have now a great number of sectarian missionaries spread over every part of India. Mr. Carey, the head of the Baptist Mission in Bengal, and his assistant missionaries, have been employed since the year 1804, in translating the Scriptures into the various languages of India. As the different parts are translated, they are printed, as I understand, at the *Company's press*, attached to the College in Calcutta. Specimens of these translations are sent home by the Provost, who is enthusiastic in commendation of the enlarged views of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The natives of India cannot be ignorant of these novel and extraordinary proceedings. They can form no other conclusion than this, that if we cannot *persuade*, we shall *compel* them to embrace Christianity. Indeed there is scarcely a shade of difference between downright compulsion, and the plan proposed by Dr. Buchanan, and printed in his Memoir, a book that has caused the greatest alarm throughout Hindostan.

It was in the fatal year 1793, that Mr. Wilberforce proposed two clauses in a Bill then depending for the renewal of the Company's charter. By one clause, *Free Schools* were to be instituted throughout India, and by another, Christian missionaries were to be appointed, and both for the avowed

purpose of civilizing and *converting* the natives of India. These propositions could not have been listened to in 1781, when it was the fixed principle of the Legislature that we ought never to interfere with the religion, laws, or native customs of the people of India—a principle consonant both to justice and to policy.

The clauses were negatived, but with a declaration from Lord Melville that the subject was *important*, and should be attended to.

The Bishop of London supported similar clauses in the House of Lords. They were strongly opposed by the late Bishop of St. Asaph, a sound and orthodox divine, and one of the main pillars of our good *old church of England*. He deprecated any attempt to interfere with the religion, the laws, or local customs of the people of India, which were so interwoven one with the other, that it would be impossible to separate them. As Christians, there was no obligation upon us, were it possible, which he denied, to attempt the conversion of the natives of India. Providence had placed millions of men under our government, who for ages differed from us in religion, laws, and customs, and we were bound upon every principle of justice as well as policy to preserve to them the free exercise of each. The command of our Saviour to his Apostles to preach the Gospel to all nations, did not, as he conceived, apply to us. The gift of languages, and the power of working

miracles, were conferred on the Apostles. All extraordinary powers had long ceased, and the extraordinary commission, he conceived, had ceased also.

The Bishop of St. Asaph, in this speech, delivered opinions which were *universal* in England in 1781. Since that period many very worthy and good men are of opinion, that, as Christians, it is incumbent upon us to spread the Christian religion as widely as we possibly can : and highly indeed do I applaud their zeal when it is exerted in countries where we have no political power ; but I much doubt whether we can be justified in attempting to convert the people of India, were it probable even that we could succeed at any distant period of time. Convinced however, as I am, that to succeed is *impossible*, I dread the fatal consequence that may result from the attempts which we are making so avowedly and so openly.

Although the clauses proposed by the Bishop of London and Mr. Wilberforce were rejected, yet a *new system* has been adopted, the effects of which will be most severely felt, and must end in our destruction, unless the Legislature should interfere as it so wisely did in 1781.

Dr. Buchanan was sent to Bengal, and Dr. Kerr to Madras. There was also in Bengal the Reverend Mr. Brown. These three gentlemen were clergymen of the church of England, but classed under that description of our clergy who are termed *evangelical*. They were all enthusiastic supporters

of the plan for the institution of free schools, the increase of missionaries, and the translation and gratuitous circulation of our Holy Scriptures, all for the avowed purpose of converting the nations of India to Christianity.

These gentlemen have cordially co-operated ~~with~~ the various sectarian missionaries now unhappily spread over India; for we have Baptist missionaries, Arminian Methodist, United Brethren missionaries, &c. &c. These men, in writing to their societies, particularly mention the attention they have received from the *evangelical clergymen* of Madras and Bengal.

I do not exactly know what are Baptist missionaries, though I believe they may be classed with Calvinistic Methodists, to distinguish them from the Arminian Methodists; and a Mr. Carey, who is at the head of the Baptist Mission in Bengal, has, with his fellow-missionaries been employed under the support of the Reverend Mr. Brown, and Dr. Buchanan, the Provost and Vice-provost of the College of Calcutta, in translating the Scriptures into the various languages of India, and even into the Chinese language.

To suppose that a people, tremblingly alive as the natives of India are on every subject that may by possibility touch their religion, can view such proceedings without the utmost apprehension and alarm for their future security, would be an absurdity of which no unprejudiced man is capable.



The members of the British and Foreign Bible Societies, and of the various Missionary Societies, also profess to abhor *persecution* for conscience sake as much as any men can do, and I do not doubt their sincerity ; but they earnestly wish to ~~circulate~~ the Bible throughout the habitable globe, and to employ missionaries in all countries to explain to the people of all heathen nations the truths of our holy religion. When this task is completely performed in India, should the heathen still neglect the means of salvation, their duty at least will be accomplished, and they “ will desist,” as they say, from all further attempts.

They treat as idle and ridiculous any fears that individuals may entertain as to the bad consequences which their measures may produce. They have no political power in India. They receive no support from Government either at home or abroad ; and the people of India know, that Government is perfectly indifferent whether they are Christians, Jews, Pagans, or Mahomedans, while they are passive and obedient subjects.

I much doubt whether this reasoning, plausible as it is, would have been just *prior* to the mutiny of Vellore, because, though it is true that Government has not given its support to those who are pursuing the wild and impracticable plan of converting the people of India, yet it is equally true that individuals of great political consequence in the government of India, both at home and

abroad, have given the plan every support in their power. But *subsequent* to the religious mutiny at Vellore, I can affirm from undoubted authority, that in every quarter of Hindostan, the increase of English missionaries, and the gratuitous circulation of such parts of the Scriptures as are already translated, have caused the greatest alarm and apprehension; and to these circumstances alone can we impute the trifling effect produced by the proclamation of the Madras Government, which must have obtained unbounded credit, had it not been counteracted by its being palpable to the most common observer, that our *actions* differed from our *professions*.

Let it not be supposed that I believe it ever was or ever will be the intention of the British Government to *compel* the natives of India to embrace Christianity. The question is very different. It is what *the people believe*; and having taken up so *absurd an opinion*, originating, however, from *our own absurd conduct*, what will be the most efficacious way of removing that opinion, and putting down the question for ever?

The most and indeed the only efficacious measures are the immediate recall of every English missionary, and a prohibition to all persons dependent on the Company from giving assistance to the translation or circulation of our holy Scriptures. In a Report of one of the Missionary Societies, I see that two hundred pounds was re-

mitted to Mr. Udney, a *Member of the Supreme Council of India*, and two clergymen, to be employed in aid of the translation of the scriptures.

It will not, I trust, be imputed to indifference for the eternal welfare of the people of India that I advise these measures. I do this from the most perfect conviction of my mind that no *human efforts* can induce the natives to abandon the religion of their forefathers. This was the *universal opinion* in 1781, and I still retain it.

Dr. Buchanan is a person of very considerable consequence in Bengal: as Vice-provost of the College of Calcutta, his authority was of great weight. Most fortunately none of his projects have been attended to; but his merely proposing them must have occasioned the greatest alarm. One of these projects was to educate the destitute children of Mahomedans and Hindoos in the Christian religion. He advises us to *coerce* the contemptuous spirit of the natives; and, though he does not believe the aged Mahomedan or Hindoo would change his religion, yet he conceives it very *practicable* to convert the natives of the *next generation*. Were we to act upon these wild opinions, one year would complete the destruction of all British power in India.

He laments, as a great political evil, that there should be a difference of religion between us and our native subjects; but to that difference of religion, more than to any other circumstance, do we

owe the permanency of our empire in India. Does he suppose it possible that thirty thousand British subjects could retain an empire containing fifty millions of people if the Christian religion was universal in India? The Mahomedans entered and conquered Hindostan eight hundred years ago. They were then intolerant, bloody, and ferocious. They wielded in one hand the sword, and in the other the Koran; but they soon abandoned the wild and impracticable plan of converting the Hindoos; and successive emperors employed Hindoos and Mahomedans indiscriminately as statesmen, generals, and collectors of revenue.

Convinced as I am of the sacred truths of our religion, I must be bigotted indeed if I could suppose that the Hindoo would be more willing to embrace Christianity, than his ancestor was to follow the religion of Mahomed. It has been the great merit of the successive British governments in India, that they have afforded equal protection to the professors of the two religions of Hindostan.

We are indirectly accused by Dr. Buchanan of attempting to counteract the benevolent designs of the Almighty.

“No Christian nation,” he says, “ever possessed such an extensive field for the propagation of the Christian faith, as that afforded to us by our influence over the *hundred million* natives of Hindostan. No other nation ever

" possessed such *facilities* for the extension of its  
 " faith as we now have in the government of a  
 " *passive people*, who yield submissively to our  
 " mild *sway*, reverence our *principles*, and ac-  
 " knowledge our dominion *to be a blessing*. Why  
 " should it be thought incredible, that Providence  
 " hath been pleased in the course of years to sub-  
 " jugate this Eastern empire to the most civilized  
 " nation upon earth *for this very purpose*?"

That the natives of India do consider our go-  
 vernment *as a blessing*, is a fact which I have been  
 in the habit of asserting in and out of Parliament,  
 at times when some difference of opinion did exist  
 in England as to the truth of my assertion. I am  
 happy that my veracity is confirmed by so high an  
 authority as Dr. Buchanan. That they are a *passive*  
 and a submissive people as long as we leave to  
 them the free exercise of their religion and their  
 local customs, and while we administer justice by  
 their own laws, I fully admit. In another place,  
 however, Dr. Buchanan speaks of their *con-*  
*temptuous* spirit, which ought to be coerced.

Why is it that our Government has been  
 deemed a blessing? Because we have collected the  
 public revenues by the rules established by *their*  
 ancestors; because we administer justice to them  
 by their own laws, of which we have taken un-  
 exampled pains to be accurately informed; because  
 we speak to them *in their own language*; because  
 we never disturb them in the possession of their

*private property*, nor permit a British subject to maltreat them with impunity ; and above all, because we have never interfered with them (until in the late unfortunate business of Vellore) on the subject of their religion, which is dearer to them than their lives : it is from this conduct on our part that the British Government is deemed a *blessing*.

But touch the religion of a Mahomedan or a Hindoo, and he is transformed from a passive and submissive subject into a bloody and a ferocious enemy.

The two following anecdotes may give the English reader some idea of the character and feelings of the natives of India where their religion is concerned. .

In one of the days of the Mahomedan holy month, a religious procession, consisting of many thousands, passed in front of the Court House in the city of Calcutta, in the year 1779, when the Judges were sitting. The sound of their music, and the voices of so numerous a multitude, disturbed the court, and the Sheriff was directed to keep silence amongst the mob. He descended the stairs, and lightly struck with his white wand of office two or three persons who were sounding the praises of Allah, agreeably to the rites of their religion. In a moment this insult was resented ; the Sheriff with great difficulty escaped, and the

lives of the Judges were in considerable danger. A message was dispatched to Mr. Hastings, the Governor General, and a military force immediately sent to rescue the Judges from a furious populace: this was effected, though with the loss of some lives. Saadut Ally, the present Nabob of Oude, was at that time in Calcutta on a visit to Mr. Hastings, and at first it was insinuated that the tumult was caused by the violence of some of his attendants, but after a most accurate investigation, conducted by the Governor General himself, it was discovered that the tumult was solely occasioned by the excessive folly of the Judges, and that, had they not interfered, the procession in a very few minutes would have been out of sight and hearing.

Nor is the attachment of the Hindoos to the rites enjoined by their religion less strong than that of the Mahomedans to their religious tenets.

I was once going up the Ganges with a large detachment of Europeans; a young gentleman, a Cadet, who had only landed at Calcutta a few days before, was of this detachment; and one evening after the boats had brought to for the night, the boatmen were dressing their suppers on the shore, to the number of about four hundred—this young Cadet was walking along the shore, and approached close to one of the earthen vessels in which the supper was boiling; he was warned by

the general voices of the men not to come nearer ; but, ignorant of the language, he still advanced, and his coat touched the outside of the vessel on the fire : after this *pollution* the supper was thrown away, and the vessel broken to pieces. The boatmen went in a body to complain to the commanding officer, who did not think it beneath his dignity to quiet the tumult, by assuring them that it proceeded from the ignorance of a young gentleman just arrived from Europe, and not from any intention of injuring them. He gave them money to repair the loss, and then explained the nature of the injury to the Cadet, assuring him, that had he been more than a few days in the country, he should have deemed it his duty to put him under arrest, and to report him to the Commander in Chief. Such, I am sure, would have been the conduct of Mr. Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, or Lord Wellesley, had the circumstance happened when either had been present, so fixed is the principle amongst British subjects of every rank, of fostering and protecting the natives in the free exercise of their religion and local customs,

Of the Mahomedan religion, Dr. Buchanan says,  
 “ No where is this intolerant faith nursed with  
 “ *more tenderness* than in British India ; while it  
 “ is suffering concussion in every other part of the  
 “ world (even to Mecca its centre), *here* it is  
 “ *fostered* and protected in the peaceful lap of Chris-



“tian liberty!”—“The moral state of the Hindoos is described as still worse than that of the Mahomedans.” These passages are indeed a gross libel upon the Legislature, the East India Company, and the successive administrations in India.

I resided in Bengal during the government of Mr. Verelst, Mr. Cartier, and Mr. Hastings, and they were equally careful in fostering and protecting the religion of Mahomet and the Shastah. Mr. Hastings was in a more especial manner the patron of Mahomedan and Hindoo learning, and of learned men of both religions. Marquis Cornwallis, and Marquis Wellesley equally protected the natives in the free exercise of their religion; and the latter in an instance which I have quoted, proved that he well knew the only principles on which a distant empire can be governed, namely, the most sacred attention to their religion, laws, and local customs. In the testimonials transmitted from all parts of India, during the long impeachment of Mr. Hastings, his knowledge of their laws, his securing to every man the free exercise of his religion, and his attention to the minutest points of ceremony due to the natives of all ranks, are particularly noticed.

Dr. Buchanan says, “Whenever the Mahomedan finds his religion *touched he grasps his dagger*”—the fact is undoubtedly true. What man in his senses, therefore, would think of

touching a religion professed by fifteen millions of our native subjects? So far from being aided by thirty-five millions of our Hindoo subjects, we have found, by fatal experience, that when their religion is touched *they grasp their daggers also*. What man of common understanding would touch the religion of either? But Dr. Buchanan conceives, that we are bound to propagate our faith where success is *probable*, it being by no means "submitted to our judgment, or to our notions of policy, whether we shall embrace the means of imparting Christian knowledge to our subjects, or not." This was precisely the doctrine of the Spaniards and Portuguese when they discovered the New World; and they extirpated millions of unfortunate men in propagating their doctrines by the sword.

I am most confident that success, by circulating our Holy Scriptures, and by encouraging missionaries, so far from being *probable*, would be *impossible*. If there are any public men in England wild enough to conceive the conversion of the natives of India to be *probable*, let them consider what fatal consequences must ensue if their judgment should be erroneous. We have not more than thirty thousand British subjects in all India, to oppose to a population of fifty millions in a general religious insurrection.

A Letter has lately been addressed to the Chairman of the East India Company, which I would

most seriously recommend to the perusal of every public man. The writer has selected from Dr. Buchanan's Memoir, and from the proceedings of the British and Foreign Bible Society, passages which must strike a reflecting mind with horror and alarm. Such principles as those extracts contain cannot be too publicly condemned.

I find from the papers, that Mr. Brown and Dr. Buchanan are removed from the offices of Provost and Deputy-provost of the College of Fort William. Most sincerely do I hope that the intelligence is true, because the removal diminishes their power of doing mischief in future; and I trust that the *Company's press* will no longer be employed in printing the translations of the Scriptures, which, most assuredly while the press was so employed, occasioned the greatest alarm throughout Hindostan.

In the month of January last, Dr. Buchanan was employed in the province of Mayala, part of the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore. He discovered a considerable colony, the descendants of Syrian Christians, fifty-five churches, and a collection of very valuable antiquities. In the prosecution of his inquiries, the Rajah of Travancore afforded him the most liberal assistance. He naturally wished to afford these Syrian Christians every support that he could, and it was highly praiseworthy that he should do so. He passes a strong

eulogium on Hindoo princes, by saying that he is convinced they will pay every attention to our representation, in favour of men professing our own religion, "for they think it both *natural* and *obligatory*, that every government should be interested in those who profess its own religion."

There was, however, no necessity to interfere in behalf of these Christians, because their ancestors had been settled in the district of Mayala for nearly fifteen centuries, and had enjoyed the most perfect religious toleration. They were principally farmers or artizans, and though originally of Syrian extraction, were in every respect become natives of India. The Rajah of Travancore, their sovereign, did not allow them to convert his Hindoo subjects; but if a man was once converted he was not persecuted for having changed his religion.

The time chosen by Dr. Buchanan for visiting these Syrian Christians, was the period of all others the most impolitic and improper. It was soon after the religious mutiny at Vellore; and as if we were determined to increase the alarms of the people of India, as to our future designs, Dr. Kerr, a Madras clergyman, was sent upon a mission to the same district with the following instructions from the Government of Madras.

“ Public Department.

“ *To the Rev. Dr. KERR, Senior Chaplain of Fort  
St. George.*

“ REVEREND SIR,

“ *The Right Honourable the Governor in Council being desirous of availing himself of your vicinity to the Malabar Coast, to obtain every possible information in regard to the establishment, &c. of the Christian religion in that part of the peninsula, I am directed by his Lordship in Council, to desire that so soon as the state of your health and the season will permit, you will proceed to the provinces on that coast; and you will forward to me, for the information of Government, such accounts as you may be able to collect, of the first introduction of Christianity into India,—of the arrival of the different sects who have been, or may be in existence,—of their general history, and of the persecutions to which they may have been exposed,—of their success in making proselytes,—of their church establishment, and of the source from which they are maintained, and with all other circumstances connected with this important subject.*

“ I have the honour to be, Rev. Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) “ G. G. KEBLE,

*Fort St. George,*

“ Sec. to Government.

*June 28, 1806.”*

The preceding letter was written in a period of considerable public danger and difficulty. The commission entrusted to Dr. Kerr was by far too trivial, to merit the attention of a great Government in the manner in which it was taken up, or to have the word "*important*" applied to it. It neither related to war, or peace, or to the welfare and happiness of our own native subjects. It related entirely to the subjects of an independent prince, a steady ally, in the internal economy of whose government we had no pretext to interfere. As a subject tending to gratify literary curiosity, the inquiry was highly laudable, and in that sole view Lord Wellesley more than a year before had given permission to Dr. Buchanan to proceed to Travancore. Of this permission the Doctor did not avail himself until a year after Lord Wellesley had left India, and when circumstances were so changed, and when the suspicions of the natives were so tremulously alive, owing to the religious mutiny at Vellore, that I have too high an opinion of the judgment of Lord Wellesley, to believe, after so fatal an event, he would have increased the public alarm, merely to gratify literary curiosity.

The sentiments of Dr. Buchanan and Dr. Kerr could not be unknown in any quarter of Hindostan, because they had taken every means to publish them; and these divines being employed nearly at the same time, in pursuit of the same in-

quiry, must, beyond all doubt, have added very considerably to the alarm which then generally prevailed throughout the whole Madras Government, on the subject of religion.

The danger which now impends over us proceeds entirely from our departure from those principles by which we had been actuated for more than forty years. The Madras government imputes the suspicions by which the minds of the people were actuated to the evil designs of discontented men. In all governments there must be some factious and discontented subjects, but the instantaneous change in the Carnatic from a native to an English Government, disgusted numerous bodies of men of considerable rank and influence amongst the people. If the fact be true, of which I have myself no doubt, that men of this description had induced the people to believe what the Proclamation asserts, that the British Government was resolved to *compel* them to embrace Christianity, the very same men would remind them, even after the Proclamation appeared, of the *wonderful change* that had taken place in the last few years: that missionaries had been increased, the Scriptures translated, and profusely given away, and Doctors Buchanan and Kerr deputed on a religious mission. These facts they would naturally reiterate, in order to discredit the solemn assurances of Government.

If a bill for merely admitting every Christian

soldier and sailor in His Majesty's service to say his prayers in his own way, before his own pastor, could raise such a ferment in this enlightened nation, as it did this year in Great Britain, what must we conceive as the result of an attempt to change the religion of fifty millions of people, whose attachment to their own religion *is invincible?*

To express *a wish* on the subject, without a single *overt act* on our part, would be now imprudent, and for a plain reason, Because the suspicions of the people of India have been roused, and it will not be sufficient that we have really given up the impracticable project of converting the natives; we must act so as to convince *them*, or we do no substantial good.

On the 3d of November 1806, Dr. Kerr's Report of the discoveries made during his Christian mission was delivered to the Governor and Council. The Doctor says it was *called for*. That copies of it got abroad, I cannot doubt, and there were in the Report passages of a nature entirely to destroy the good effects which the Proclamation of the following month was otherwise so well calculated to produce. In addition to the account Dr. Buchanan has given of the Syrian Christians. Dr. Kerr says, "To unite them to our Church, would be *a most noble work*." The very attempt in the ferment now existing on the Coast would bring all India questions to a very short issue.



The Doctor concludes his Report with a series of observations that must fill the mind of every man, who knows the real unalterable character of the people of India, with horror and alarm. I read the whole Report, and the order issued by the Madras Government, in the *Evangelical Magazine* of October. It is idle therefore to hope that both were not known, and most mischievously turned against us, by the discontented natives of the Carnatic and Mysore.

“Reflecting,” says Dr. Kerr, “on the whole subject, several suggestions present themselves to my mind, and I think I shall not be considered as deviating from the line of my profession, or the intentions of your Lordship, in calling for my Report, by offering some opinions to Government, which in a moral and a political view seem to be of the highest importance. It appears from the foregoing statement, that pure Christianity is far, very far from being a religion for which the highest cast of Hindoos have any disrespect; and that it is the abuse of the Christian name, under the form of the Romish religion, to which they are averse. We have, my Lord, been sadly defective in what we owed to God and man, since we have had a footing in this country, as well by departing most shamefully from our Christian profession ourselves, as in withholding those moral perfections from the natives, which Christianity alone can

“ establish, and at the same time we have allowed  
 “ *the Romanists* to steal into our territory, to oc-  
 “ cupy the ground we have neglected to cultivate,  
 “ and to bring an odium on our pure and honour-  
 “ able name, as Christians.”

That the Madras Government should have thought it necessary to *call* for a Report upon the most trifling of all possible subjects connected with the welfare of *our oriental empire*, has induced me to believe, that the account which I have heard is true, namely, that the directions for the mission of Dr. Kerr originated in England. His orders were specific and pointed, but in his Report he assumes the office of a *statesman*; he professes to believe, that he does not deviate from his Lordship's intention in calling for his Report, in stating what in a moral and *political* point of view is very important, the *means* by which the immense population of India may be converted to *Christianity*. He says that the higher cast of Hindoos are far very far from having any disrespect for *pure Christianity*. What can the higher, or any cast of Hindoos know of *pure Christianity*, when the professors of the Christian religion are so much divided upon the subject of what *pure Christianity* really is? The Catholic, the Protestant of the church of England, the Calvinistic and Arminian Methodist, the Anabaptist, the Presbyterian, the Moravian, the Quaker, the Antimonian, the New Jerusalem Christians, all suppose that *they* are the only *pure*

*Christians.* The Hindoo holds each sect in the highest respect, and the professors of the Mahomedan religion also, although invincibly attached to his own religion. To make the Hindoos a party in our religious differences is ridiculous in the extreme. The pomp and the shew, the saints and the images, of the Roman churches, would be infinitely more attractive to a Hindoo, did he ever change his religion from any motive than that of private interest, for a plain reason, because the Roman religion approaches nearer the worship of an idolater than our more rational faith.

But the fact is, that the Roman missionaries have been as unsuccessful as our sectarian missionaries, although Dr. Buchanan in his Memoir has done that justice to their *characters* which Dr. Kerr from prejudice has withheld.

At the commencement of the French Revolution, Sir Robert Murray Keith, late our ambassador at Vienna, observed one Thursday at the drawing room, in my presence, that he must go to school again, since all that he had learned in the course of a long public life, was now become useless. Those yet living, who assisted in first acquiring the British empire in India; those who have assisted in retaining and extending it, must go to school again also. At the end of forty-one years of our government of an empire, Dr. Kerr, who is a *politician* as well as a divine, tells us, that we have been sadly *defective* in our duty to God

and man—a very proper remark undoubtedly, had it been made in any other way than in a public letter to Government; for where is the Christian, whose religious conduct is so exemplary as not to merit reprehension, and exhortation to amend his life? but that we have sinned, by withholding instruction from *the natives*, that is, by not having had either the courage or the presumption to interfere with them in the free enjoyment of their religion, laws, and local customs, is a doctrine *perfectly new*. It is in direct opposition to the system *unanimously* approved of in 1781; and whatever differences of opinion did for a time exist in England, as to certain parts of the conduct of public men, the invariable attention we had paid to the natives, where their *religion* was concerned, was always mentioned with approbation, by persons of every description and party, both in and out of Parliament.

Dr. Kerr says, “In my humble opinion, my Lord, *the error has been* in not having established long ago *free-schools throughout every part of the country*, by which the children of *the natives* might have learned our language, and got acquainted with our morality.”

“*Conversion*, in my opinion, *must be the consequence* which would naturally flow from our attention to their moral instruction, and their more intimate acquaintance with the English character.” What inference can the natives

draw from these alarming passages but this—that the conversion of the population of India was the first object of the British Government? Though the Legislature had negatived the clauses proposed for the institution of free-schools in India, though the Court of Directors were prepared to petition Parliament against the adoption of that clause, had it not been withdrawn, yet, Dr. Kerr has the presumption to tell Government, that they erred in not instituting free-schools throughout India *long ago*. I trust, there is no one will be so uncharitable as to suppose it is from an opinion, that all religions are equally good, that I deprecate every attempt at converting the natives; it is from a thorough conviction of the *impossibility* of success, and from an opinion also, that the *attempt* will end *in our destruction*: in other words I *retain* that opinion which was *universal* in 1781.

When the walls of Vellore were red with the blood of our countrymen, so profusely shed by religious enthusiasts, a rational man might have expected that we should have heard no more as to converting the natives to Christianity; yet *that* was the *moment* chosen for adding fresh fuel to the religious fire which raged in the Carnatic.

The mind of man never conceived a wilder or a more dangerous plan than that of instituting free-schools throughout Hindostan. Five hundred thousand free-schools would not suffice for the population. What Mahomedan, or what Hindoo,

would send his child for education, to a Christian schoolmaster, unless by compulsion? But the institution itself would arm all India against us; because it would convince the natives that if persuasion would not effect what we wanted, we should then resort to compulsion.

But Dr. Kerr has contrived a very ingenious mode by which the natives of India may be *cheated* into an approval of his plan of free-schools.

I must observe, that the passage I am about to quote, is not in the body of Dr. Kerr's Report, but in a note; and as I have never seen the original, I think it *possible* that it has been added in England: for the credit of Dr. Kerr I wish the fact may so turn out.

" I do not think the natives *will come to us freely*, but *to learn English*. This they consider *as the key to fortune*; and on the Coast, the most strict of the Bramins will have little hesitation, as far as I can learn, in permitting their children to attend a *free school* for the purpose of *learning it*; for they despise us too much to suppose there is any danger of overturning the principles of Braminism. But their ill-founded ridiculous principles must be shaken *to the very foundation*, by the communication of such liberal knowledge as a *Christian* can instil into the minds of youth, and fix there by means of English books; and all this without making *any alarming attack directly on the religion of the Hindoos*."

The whole of this passage must, I think, attract the serious attention of the East India Company and the Legislature. The *contradiction* it contains to a passage just preceding it is curious. "The higher cast of Hindoos are far, very far indeed, from entertaining any disrespect *for* "pure Christianity;" from which the Doctor certainly meant to infer that it was very practicable to convert *them to pure Christianity*. Here the Bramins, which are *the higher cast*, *despise us too much* to fear to trust their children to learn English, and the English language *is the key to fortune*. We are, therefore, by a deception of the basest kind, to allure the children of these Bramins to our schools, that we may shake their ridiculous ill-founded principles, but still to keep up the mask of friendly regard to their *temporal interests*, by merely offering to teach them a language which would be *the key to fortune*. No disciple of Loyola ever proposed a scheme more repugnant to every principle of justice and true morality. I am confident that the British nation possesses too just a sense of honour and is too attached to the true Christian principle of not doing evil, that good may come, to sanction so foul a fraud as Dr. Kerr recommends.

The English language *is not* the key to fortune in Bengal, and its extensive dependencies; scarcely a native speaks one word of English; but every gentlemen, after a year's residence, speaks the lan-

guages of India with fluency and correctness. By this time it *must* be the same on the Coast. The neglect of the native languages on the Coast formerly, was owing to the government of the Carnatic being in the hands of a native sovereign ; now we are the sovereign, and every English gentleman must of necessity speak the language of the country.

It may, perhaps, be said, that I assume too much when I suppose that a confidential correspondence between Dr. Kerr and the Madras Government is known to the natives. Let it be observed that it passed in what is called *The public Department* ; and of course no measures were taken to keep the correspondence secret at Madras. It was doubtless known to the missionaries. It has got into the Evangelical Magazine ; and I cannot have a doubt of its being very public throughout the Carnatic. I think it tended, amongst other circumstances, totally to counteract the subsequent Proclamation of Government.

The unhappy James, to his dying hour, positively denied that he meant more by all his violent measures than to secure a complete toleration for his Catholic subjects. The Protestants did not believe *him*, and they were fully justified, from his *overt acts*, in not believing him. The Mahomedans and the Hindoos, under the Madras Government, are also fully justified in not giving credit to their solemn declarations, while the overt



acts of that government differ from their professions. The remedy can only be applied now by some solemn act of the East India Company and the Legislature.

I am most ready and willing to applaud the zeal and good intentions of all the Missionary Societies established in Great Britain, but it appears to me that the members of the sectarian Societies are deficient both in judgment and discrimination. Their exertions ought to be confined to the continent of Africa, the wilds of America, and the islands in the South Sea. In these extensive regions they may do much good, and cannot, by possibility, do any mischief. An option is left to the chief possessing authority in those countries to allow the missionaries to reside amongst them, or not as they choose; and the motive for which they encounter danger, difficulty, and even death, cannot be disputed.

But in India the case is very different indeed. It is an empire conquered by British valour, and retained by skill in the cabinet and the field. When large kingdoms were ceded to us, by treaties at various periods, it never occurred to any of the contracting parties to engage that the natives should be secured in the free exercise of their religion, their laws, or their local customs. Such conditions are often contained in articles for the surrender of cities and provinces in other quarters of the globe, and so it was when Canada was sur-

tendered to Great Britain. But the *principle* was so fixed in India for ages, that any avowal of it in a public treaty was absolutely unnecessary. India is, therefore, a British country. The people of India are British subjects ; and like the subjects of Canada, have a right to the free enjoyment of their religion, laws, and customs.

If the Legislature should adopt the wild idea of converting the natives of India, we must naturally suppose that missionaries of our own established church, approved by our archbishops and bishops, would be the proper persons to employ.

But sectarian missionaries can have no pretence for complaining that they are excluded from India, while so many parts of the pagan world are open to them. The Hindoo religion has been the religion of India for two thousand years at the least, probably for a much longer period. The Mahomedans have been eight centuries in India. They held Hindostan as conquerors. Invincibly attached to the religion of Mahomed, they found a numerous and timid race of men as invincibly attached to the religion of the Shastah. The English have vanquished the descendants of the conquerors of Hindostan ; and the means by which, with a force too trifling almost to mention, they have retained their conquest, have been by preserving *inviolable* the religion, laws, and local customs, both of Mahomedans and Hindoos.

Dr. Kerr admits that missionaries hitherto have

“ made few good converts ;” I firmly believe *not one*. I am assured by gentlemen lately returned from India, that notwithstanding the very great increase of missionaries of late years, the case is not changed since my time ; that they have not made a single Mahomedan convert, and that the very few Hindoos who have been converted, were men of the most despicable characters, who had lost their casts, and took up a new religion because they were excommunicated. Indeed, converts of no other description can be expected from a population of fifty millions, amongst whom the *principle* has been fixed for ages, that the greatest possible disgrace a man can incur, is by departing from the religion of his forefathers. The immediate interposition of the Almighty can alone effect the conversion of such a population. But Dr. Kerr imputes the little success of the missionaries, to their having received no support whatsoever from the British Government, a fact which I am truly happy to find so well authenticated ; and I am sorry that it was not stated in the Proclamation, with an assurance also, that they never *should* receive any support from the British Government.

The prevalent opinion amongst the natives, however, is, that Government has taken a part. They see English missionaries spread over the country from Vizagapatam to Travancore. This to them is *new*. They *know* that no *Englishman*

can reside in India without the consent of Government. They observe that our Holy Scriptures are profusely given away, translated into the languages of India. How then can they conceive that the British Government is indifferent upon the question of their conversion ?

The missionaries themselves in their dispatches to their several sectarian Societies, speak of the encouragement they have met with, and the civilities they have received, from English gentlemen in the Company's service. One of these missionaries applied to the Rajah of Travancore for permission to preach the Gospel in his dominions, which that prince peremptorily refused, and the reason is obvious. He is the sovereign of the district of Mayala also, in which the descendants of the Syrian Christians reside; and Dr. Kerr informs us, that though he does not persecute these Christians, he discourages them from attempting to convert his Hindoo subjects. He did not wish, therefore, to introduce *a new sect of Christians* into another division of his dominions. An application was afterwards made to him by a Lieutenant-colonel M. (for the initial of the name alone is printed.) The Rajah then gave his consent; in other words, he granted that permission to the influence of station, which his inclination led him to withhold altogether.

An officer of rank invited a missionary to Seringapatam, telling him, by way of encouragement,

that he might expect success,' because, from the tyranny exercised by Tippoo Sultaun over the unfortunate Hindoos, they were less solicitous as to the purity of their casts than the Hindoos of the other nations of Hindostan.

These two anecdotes, for the truth of which I cannot vouch, I met with in this year's Report of one of the Missionary Societies, where there is also a letter from a missionary, pressing his Society to send a host of missionaries to the island of Ceylon alone; what hosts, therefore, would be required for the extensive Kingdoms in Hindostan!

The Governor of Ceylon has lately expelled every missionary from that island; a severity, of which I am sure General Maitland would have been incapable, unless forced to it, by his sense of the duty which he owed to the public.

If the increase of English missionaries is a very serious evil, that evil is aggravated by the description of persons who have found their way to India in that character. Such persons are very proper, perhaps, for employment in countries where men are but little removed from a savage state. They appear to be illiterate, ignorant, and as enthusiastic as the wildest devotees among the Hindoos. Such men are not calculated to convert a civilized race from a false to the true religion. Those who have conceived it *possible* to convert the natives to Christianity, should have been careful not to throw India

into the hands of schismatics. Were they to succeed, we should have as many different sects as there are casts among the Hindoos. Dr. Kerr, who dreads the success of a miserable barefooted *Romanist*, makes no objection to those who have deserted *the good old church of England*.

That such persons ever obtained permission to proceed to India is very extraordinary, and if they got there by stealth, it is singular that they have not been recalled.

A sermon was preached in May before the Society of Missions to Africa and *the East*. Of this Society Admiral Lord Gambier is a Governor. In the course of the sermon, the clergyman referred the congregation to the circumstance that followed the conversion of a Hindoo in Bengal. At the end of the sermon, the account referred to is printed, with the following title:

“The following interesting Account of a Bramin, is given by Mr. Thomas, in the Baptist periodical Accounts.”

The substance of the story so printed is this— that a Bramin, named Parbotee, was a man of title, a strict observer of the Hindoo laws, a thorough devotee: that he conceived a Bramin to be *defiled* if he was in the company of this Mr. Thomas, or any other Englishman or Mahomedan. At two o'clock one morning, this Parbotee awoke his brother Bramin by the vehemence of his cries; and, on the door being opened, Parbotee was

found in great agitation. To the inexpressible surprise of the other Bramin, Parbotee called out to have the Gospel read to him, and that the Bramin, Chund, would go and pray for him. This he did; and Parbotee spent the night, with two others, in reading, praying, and singing. About noon he related a very remarkable dream; "in which," says Mr. Thomas, "I have no doubt *at all* but he received divine admonition and instruction." Mr. Thomas, however, expects us to give that credit to his *ipse dixit*, which Catholics formerly believed due to the word of the Pope alone, for of the *nature of this dream* he does not say a syllable. Then follows the rhapsody to which the clergyman alluded; and I should conceive, that few members, indeed, of our church, could read both the account of the conversion, and the rhapsody, without concluding, that Mr. Thomas and his convert were insane. I had the curiosity to inquire after Mr. Thomas and his convert, and I heard that they both died raving mad in Bengal. The same spirit of ridiculous and wild enthusiasm which marks this account of Mr. Thomas, is to be found in the letters of the various sectarian missionaries in India, mixed up with abuse of the *Romanists*, as Dr. Kerr calls them, whenever they happen to fall in their track. Those who will take the trouble, as I have done, to wade through the Reports of the sectarian Missionary Societies, will find them filled with similar

crash to that which I have copied ; but of *success* in making converts I can find nothing.

• The very few missionaries who visited India in my time were Danes or Swedes. Their number, I believe, did not exceed four or five at the utmost. The two venerable Societies of our excellent church established for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts above a century ago, afforded some pecuniary assistance to these respectable men ; but although one of the number, Mr. Schwartz, was the confidential friend, and, in a certain degree, the Prime Minister of the Rajah of Tanjore, a Hindoo Prince, what converts did he make in the course of thirty years ? Not a number worth noticing. A plain proof of the folly of employing the money of the Missionary Societies *in India*, when it can be disposed of with every prospect of advantage in other countries. The fact is, that Mr. Schwartz was beloved by the Rajah and his subjects. His death was lamented as a public misfortune; and a monument was erected to his memory by the Rajah, in a church that he had allowed him to build in the city of Tanjore. Did he convert the Rajah, or any of his Ministers, or any man of consequence ? The numbers he did convert were so inconsiderable, that the advocates for missionary exertions, while they pronounce those eulogiums on his character which it justly merited, carefully avoid all mention of the success of his public mission. The



liberal Hindoo, and the intolerant Mahomedan, as Dr. Buchanan calls him, will equally venerate the Christian virtues, but will still be invariably attached to his own religion.

Nothing can be more ridiculous than the apprehensions expressed by Dr. Kerr of the success of the *Romanists* in the cultivation of that soil, which, as I think, we have so wisely neglected, although by our neglect we have, *in his opinion*, been defective in our duty both to God and man. Of all the inhabitants of the globe, not absolutely in a savage state, the most contemptible and the most insignificant are the *Romanists* in India. They are principally the descendants of those illustrious men to whom we owe the discovery of the passage round the southern promontory of Africa, and through whose valour the crown of Portugal was the first of the European potentates who acquired territorial dominion in India. That dominion Portugal lost, by the excessive absurdity and bigotry of priests, who conceived with Dr. Buchanan, that no considerations of policy should prevent them from propagating the Christian faith. The Portuguese of India of this day do not retain either the features or the character of their ancestors, but they are very numerous on the two coasts, in the island of Bombay, and in Bengal. They have an immense church establishment, consisting of archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries, but with a revenue so poor, that the pay

of an archbishop does not exceed that of an English subaltern officer. They retain the sounding titles of Archbishop of Cranganore, Bishop of Verapoli, the native princes not deeming it of consequence to prevent them from retaining these titles, though the districts which were once possessed by Portugal have long been wrested from them by native sovereigns. These *Romanists* are a bigoted ignorant people, of whom it is impossible that the British power or the native sovereigns of India can entertain either jealousy or alarm. The Hindoo Governments have returned *good for evil*, for they permit *them* the free exercise of *their religion*, nor are they afraid of the exertions of their missionaries. Indeed, it is this new mania for conversion which the English have so unaccountably taken up, that can alone create an alarm in India.

The question which I have thus endeavoured to bring before the notice of the East India Company and the Legislature, appears to me to be of the utmost importance. If there are amongst us men who conceive India to be of no importance to Great Britain, humanity requires that we should preserve the lives of our countrymen until we can send transports to bring them home. Those who conceive India to be worth preserving, should consider whether this country can preserve it, if the people are against us, and actuated by that fury of revenge, which invariably accompanies a religious

insurrection. That an opinion does prevail the most dangerous to our existence that ever did prevail in India, is clear from the Proclamation of the Government of Madras, namely, that we mean to *compel* the natives to embrace Christianity. The most solemn disavowal of such an intention has not eradicated that opinion. We must therefore use every possible means to counteract the efforts of those disaffected persons who have misled our native troops and our native subjects. The ~~only~~ effectual means of attaining this desirable object are by the immediate recall of every English missionary, by putting an immediate stop to the gratuitous circulation of the Scriptures in India, and by directing that the clergy in the pay of the Company in India should in future confine themselves to the care of the souls of their fellow Christians and countrymen.

It is *impossible*, impolitic as the measure was, that the mere change in dress of the Sepoys could have produced a general belief, that the British Government was resolved to *compel* them to embrace Christianity. But various private accounts from men of sense, observation, and character, mention, that the great increase of missionaries, the profuse and gratuitous circulation of the Scriptures, added to the change of the dress of the native troops, were represented as proofs of our resolution ultimately to *compel* them to become Christians.

The jealousy and the alarm which has pervaded the whole of the Carnatic and Mysore, has been but partially felt in Bengal, because the efforts of the English missionaries have hitherto not extended beyond a few inconsiderable villages, and the populous city of Dacca : but from the uncasiness and resentment displayed wherever these missionaries *have appeared*, we may fairly conclude what fatal consequences will follow, if some instant measures are not taken to restrain their wild exertions in future. Let me, therefore, earnestly call the attention of the Legislature to the following relation :

Mr. Verelst, formerly Governor of Bengal, was examined by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1781, and I have extracted some important passages from his evidence.

“ Harry Verelst, Esq. informed your Committee,  
 “ that the Hindoos were more attached to their  
 “ manners and customs than any other people on  
 “ the face of the earth. That they would suffer  
 “ *death* rather than any indignity to *their* cast.  
 “ That from every knowledge he had of the  
 “ Hindoos, he was persuaded that the Maho-  
 “ medans, who have usually carried their con-  
 “ quests by the edge of the sword, on all former  
 “ occasions, when they arrived in Hindostan,  
 “ found it absolutely necessary to sheath the  
 “ sword, from a thorough conviction that they  
 “ would deluge the country with blood before

“ they could convert *one Hindoo to their laws and*  
 “ *religion*, and that they therefore *wisely* became  
 “ *the guardians and protectors of the Hindoo re-*  
 “ *ligion* ; and that he conceives the country to  
 “ have been preserved *in that state*, to the time  
 “ he left it in 1770: That their religious insti-  
 “ tutions and rites, of which they are so tena-  
 “ cious, are not confined to their places of wor-  
 “ ship, *but extend to every occurrence of life.*”

Not an individual in India, nor indeed in *Eng-*  
*land*, [in 1781, who had the opportunity of local  
 observation, or the access to oriental history, dif-  
 fered from Mr. Verelst in opinion. It was, there-  
 fore, the invariable practice of the British Govern-  
 ment to foster and protect the religion of the  
 Hindoos, and also to encourage what the Bible  
 Society terms, the bloody and degrading supersti-  
 tion of Mahomed. As Christians we could not  
 be less tolerant than the bigoted professors of the  
 Koran; and the Mahomedans were fully entitled  
 also to the peaceable enjoyment of their laws and  
 their religion.

But since 1781, a zeal for missionary exertions  
 has spread over the land; and, unhappily, some  
 men have selected that quarter of the globe for  
 making those exertions, in which, for the reasons  
 assigned by Mr. Verelst, success is *impossible by*  
*human means.*

I have now open before me, the sixteenth Re-  
 port of the Baptist Missionary Society, from which

I shall give some extracts. Nine English missionaries are employed by this Society *in Bengal* alone. They have fixed their head quarters at Serampore, a Danish town, about twelve miles from Calcutta, and they make occasional excursions to Calcutta, and the neighbouring country. The head of this mission is a Mr. William Carey, who enjoys a salary from the Company of eight hundred pounds a year, as teacher of the Bengalee and Sanscrit languages: he has also apartments in the College for the reception of his brother missionaries, when they visit Calcutta. In the Company's list of College officers, he is styled Mr. William Carey; but the Bible Society have given him the dignified title of "*Reverend.*" For some years, as he tells us himself, he laboured in concert with brother Thomas, as he calls him, in Dinagepore, "*but without success.*" This brother Thomas, and his convert Perbottee, died mad in Bengal some time ago. In the course of several years these English missionaries have made very few converts, and those are men who have lost their casts, or were of the lowest order among the Hindoos, beggars by trade; they have been obliged to expel some of these converts *for gross immorality*. The missionaries admit that the conversion of these poor creatures has caused *considerable uneasiness* among the people of the villages where they had formerly lived. When these missionaries sent any of their brethren into the villages, they distributed various

religious tracts among the people, which were often rejected, and always created considerable alarm and uneasiness.

When I published the first editions of this pamphlet, I had no idea that they had presumed to act in so unwarrantable a manner.

Mr. Carey and Mr. Moore made an excursion from Serampore to the province of Dacca, in Sept. 1805 at a period when the attention of Government was too much occupied by affairs of the utmost importance to notice their unjustifiable conduct: on their route they distributed their religious pamphlets as they call them, in the villages they passed through. When their boat came to the populous city of Dacca, a multitude was assembled on the shore, and they distributed *four thousand pamphlets* among the people; they then went into the centre of the city, and they add, "Before they could make any *further progress*" "they were interrupted and stopped, first by a *collector*, and afterwards by a *magistrate*, who "demanded their *passports*, and asked them if "they were aware of the consequences of an "European travelling without one. They also "alleged that the pamphlets had created *great* "uneasiness among the people (that is, among the "Bramins), and therefore insisted on their proceeding no further in distributing them." Notwithstanding this prohibition from two persons possessing the highest civil authority in the pro-

vince, Mr. Carey and Mr. Moore had the presumption to distribute these pamphlets as they returned back to Serampore ; an act of contumacy for which they ought to have been shut up, as dangerous maniacs, or immediately sent to England. No British subject is allowed to proceed to India without authority from the Company ; nor, when he has obtained that permission, to quit the English settlements in India, of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, to visit the interior country, without a passport ; but these men had the audacity to disobey the fixed regulations of the Company, and the collector and the magistrate of Dacca ought undoubtedly to have sent them under a guard to Calcutta ; such would have been the fate of a free merchant, had he ventured to leave Calcutta without a passport. It is clear to me, that, unless powerfully patronized, Mr. Carey and Mr. Moore would not have conducted themselves with such unexampled presumption.

They attempt to draw a distinction between the Bramins and the people at large. On all occasions they speak of *the enmity of the Bramins*, and only occasionally of the abuse bestowed upon them by the other casts of Hindoos.

Should we be mad enough to make the same distinction, our destruction is *inevitable*. The influence, the power of the Bramins, and the veneration in which they are held by the Hindoos of inferior casts, are well known ; from *their*



*decision*, on all points of the Hindoo religion, there is *no* appeal.

In the year 1766 the late Lord Clive and Mr. Verelst employed the whole influence of Government to restore a Hindoo to his cast, who had forfeited it, not by any neglect of his own, but by having been compelled, by a most unpardonable act of violence, to swallow a drop of cow broth; the Bramins, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, were very anxious to comply with the wishes of Government; the principal men among them met once at Kishnagur, and once at Calcutta, but after consultations, and an examination of their most ancient records, they declared to Lord Clive, that as there was no precedent to justify the act, they found it *impossible* to restore the unfortunate man to his cast, and he died soon after of a broken heart.\*.

We were then, as we are now, the sovereigns of Bengal. but too wise to attempt *compulsion*, and not quite so mad as to advise this poor creature to abandon his ridiculous, idolatrous prejudices, and to embrace the true religion.

If we wish to accelerate the destruction of the British power in India, we have only to adopt the distinction which Mr. Carey and Mr. Moore draw between the Bramins and the rest of the Hindoo population.

\* Mr. Verelst's Evidence, 1781.

The Baptist missionaries had agreed with a native for the purchase of some land, on which they meant to build a house, and to establish a school for the instruction of the *Heathens*; the people threatened the man who sold the land with vengeance, and the agreement was *cancelled*. A Hindoo convert had subsisted for years previous to his conversion by begging; he went to his village where the missionaries had established a school, and they say, “*Satan* has been endeavouring to “ prejudice the people near him against the “ Gospel, *by raising a report* that we intend to “ carry off the children who may come to school “ for instruction: unfounded as this tale is, it has “ done *much harm* to the school there.”

Mr. Chamberlain, an English missionary, writes, “ Last evening a number of *Bramins* and others, “ loaded *Kangerge* and me with abuse, and manifested the greatest enmity against the Gospel “ that I have seen in this country.”

The missionaries mention other instances in which they were abused *by the Bramins*. The missionaries give an account of baptizing three Hindoo converts, and say, “ A considerable “ number of natives were present, who, in going “ out of the gate, began mocking, and calling out, “ ‘ We have seen him—We are witnesses.’ ”

“ No one will give them *to wife*, and contracts “ made before they were baptized, *are esteemed* “ *invalid*. This will be a *perplexing business*, till

“ there are enow converted to intermarry with  
 “ each other. The Lord hasten the work.

“ We hear Futteek has been treated with much  
 “ severity by the little *tyrant* of the village where  
 “ he lives. I hear he has tied him up, and fed  
 “ him with cow-dung. Had not a domestic mis-  
 “ fortune thrown their persecutors into confusion,  
 “ they probably would have been treated much  
 “ worse. Ramkanta and Raanee brought the in-  
 “ telligence.”

“ We are much concerned for the state of the  
 “ mission; every *inquirer* that we have had for  
 “ some days past, has left us in a clandestine  
 “ manner.”

“ 1805.—March 3, Lord’s Day. No baptizing  
 “ to-day; *no inquirers*; *no new converts*; things  
 “ are very *dull amongst us*.”

Speaking of native converts, the missionaries  
 write to their Society, “ *They, silent and unob-*  
 “ *served, can penetrate a bigotted city, stay two*  
 “ *or three days in a house, and unsuspected scatter*  
 “ *the precious seed, while only the appearance of*  
 “ *one of us would create universal alarm.*” One  
 of the missionaries writes in January 1806:  
 “ There are at present about twenty boys in my  
 “ school; some have absented themselves, *that*  
 “ *they might not learn the Christian Catechism,*  
 “ *nor read the Scriptures.*”

Mr. Carey writes on the 7th of February 1806,  
 that a distinct church of *eight* members was lately

constituted at Dinagepore. “ Two of the number  
 “ are the first fruits of that country, where *brother*  
 “ *Thomas and I laboured so long, and without*  
 “ *success.*”

A whole village rose against three Hindoo converts, and on a circumstance so dreadfully alarming to every rational man, the English missionary quotes this passage: “ Think you that I am come  
 “ to send *peace on the earth*? I tell you, nay.”

This abominable and impious perversion of a passage of that Gospel which inculcated the mild doctrine of *peace on earth and good-will amongst all men*, surely merits public reprobation! it is precisely the language held by the Spaniards and the Portuguese in the sixteenth century.

In the last letter which Mr. Chamberlain writes to his Society in 1806, he says, “ The *enmity*  
 “ of the Bramins is *increased*, owing, as I suppose,  
 “ to their feeling their cause *in danger of falling.*” He adds, “ Since the beginning of this year I  
 “ think upwards of *twenty thousand tracts* have  
 “ been distributed. The *second edition* of the  
 “ New Testament remains yet to be dispersed.” To impute the enmity of the *Bramins* to their cause being in danger of falling, is arrogant and insolent in the highest degree, and betrays the grossest ignorance and bigotry. Heretofore, the Bramins lived on the most intimate terms both with Protestant and Roman missionaries, without betraying one symptom of jealousy or enmity; but

these English missionaries, by what I may call a ruffianly and abusive attack on the national religions of Hindostan, naturally excited the enmity of the Bramins, and, I am sure, of all the Hindoos who read their tracts.

We may conceive the narrow bigotry by which these men are actuated, by the conduct of Mr. Carey and Mr. Moore to some native Christian Catholics, whom they met with in a village, when they were driven from Dacca by the magistrate and collector. To these poor Catholics, the descendants of Catholics, they pointed out the *errors of Popery*, and warned them of the danger of *worshipping and trusting to idols*.

To prove the absolute inutility of the dispersion of one edition of the New Testament, and of twenty thousand religious tracts, it is only necessary to state, that one month after the date of Mr. Chamberlain's letter, Mr. Carey writes, "There are few months in which *some* were not baptized. Last month *three natives* were joined to us, and *two* the month before. We have, however, been under the necessity of excluding *several* for *evil conduct*."

Much indeed is it to be lamented that two clergymen of the church of England, Mr. Browne and Dr. Buchanan, should encourage such mischievous madmen as these English missionaries are.

In opposition to the opinion universally held in

1781; Dr. Buchanan says, “ To disseminate the  
 “ principles of the Christian religion and morals,  
 “ throughout the provinces, is certainly *very*  
 “ *practicable*. Their *ignorance* and *apathy* (the  
 “ Hindoos) are so extreme, that *no means of in-*  
 “ *struction* will give them *serious offence*, except  
 “ *positive violence*.”

Reasoning is useless, where an appeal to acknowledged *facts* will convict Dr. Buchanan of being grossly mistaken. I have quoted various passages from the accounts sent to England by the missionaries themselves. *They used no violence* of any kind ; yet the mere distribution of their pamphlets, their endeavouring to establish a school, and their baptizing a few miserable converts, has caused a *great alarm*, and has given *very serious offence*.

Their sphere of action has been very confined, but the alarm which they have raised, and the uneasiness they have occasioned, must convince every rational man, that an increase of English missionaries would produce a general insurrection.

As far as I can collect from the Reports of the Baptist Society, their missionaries have made, in the course of several years, about eighty converts, all from the lowest of the people, most of them beggars by profession, and others who had lost their casts. The whole of them were rescued from poverty, and procured a comfortable subsistence by their conversion. One of the missionaries writes to England, that a hundred rupees a month

would support ten native converts with their families, and a still greater number of single brethren ; which is undoubtedly true, because the wages of our common servants are but three, four, and five rupees a month. He says, “ Why should we “ stop at ten, or even at ten times ten?” And if the funds of the Society in England should enable them to remit an additional thousand pounds a year to Serampore, for the comfortable support of one hundred native converts, I dare say they will find in the populous city of Calcutta a number of wretches expelled from their casts, who will be very willing to accept their bounty ; but that such converts will influence “ the perishing millions,” as the missionaries denominate the „natives of India, is indeed most ridiculous.

Some of the converts have been expelled for *gross immorality*, and such, I am confident, would be the fate of the remainder, were not the missionaries afraid of being laughed at. In May 1806, they wrote to their Society, “ We have lately had “ some *painful things* amongst *two or three* of our “ Hindoo members, such as, we fear, indicate a “ want of *true religion* ; such things, however “ painful, *must be expected*.”

Various religious tracts, and a part of the Scriptures, were circulated by these missionaries for three years ; yet the number of converts from May 1805 to May 1806, was but forty, and for *five* of this number they were alarmed. In a popu-

lation of so many millions, forty in every year may be expected to lose their casts ; and to those unacquainted with the subject, it may be necessary to state the consequences resulting to a Hindoo from the loss of his cast.

“ \* That in the loss of cast is included, as to  
 “ religion, a total excommunication ; and as to  
 “ customs, manners, and society, that no one of  
 “ the same cast can associate or hold any inter-  
 “ course with him, not even his own wife and  
 “ children, without losing *their cast*. That a  
 “ man who has lost his cast, cannot follow any  
 “ trade or profession, because he is deprived of  
 “ all society, and avoided as a leper. That  
 “ having lost a reputable cast of a higher order,  
 “ he must, with his descendants, herd with the  
 “ Mallachores, the lowest cast of people, who  
 “ clear away the ordure, remove dead bodies, and  
 “ are occupied in employments which would  
 “ defile any other sect.

“ Lieutenant-colonel Harper being asked, whe-  
 “ ther the Hindoos are much attached to their  
 “ manners, customs, and religious observances,  
 “ he said they are very much ; and whether the  
 “ Hindoo Sepoys, in the English service, pay  
 “ much respect to the persons of the Bramins, to  
 “ their places of worship, and their religious ob-  
 “ servances, he replied, he knows numberless

\* Evidence of Harry Verelst, Esq. confirmed by every other witness who was examined.



“ instances to prove that they do. That Hindoo  
 “ Sepoys, in a line of march, passing through a  
 “ place of worship, have frequently applied to  
 “ their officers for leave of absence to perform  
 “ their devotions. That the battalion which he  
 “ commanded, was principally composed of Hin-  
 “ doos; and that in the several routes that he  
 “ has marched through the provinces of Sujah  
 “ Dowlah, he has sometimes, at the general re-  
 “ quest of all the Hindoo troops, when it did not  
 “ interfere with the particular service he was em-  
 “ ployed in, halted a day, to give them an oppor-  
 “ tunity of paying their devotions at any remark-  
 “ able place of worship; and he knows that  
 “ Sujah Dowlah has observed the same conduct  
 “ with the Hindoos of his army. Being asked if  
 “ the Mahomedan and Hindoo Sepoys are at-  
 “ tached to our service, he said, that where com-  
 “ mon justice is done to them, *and their parti-*  
 “ *cular rights and customs* preserved to them,  
 “ there are no set of people *more firmly* attached  
 “ to the service, or to the officers who command  
 “ them.”

The Committee of the House of Commons ob-  
 serve, “ It is remarkable, that *an unusual degree*  
 “ *of consistency and uniformity* prevails in the  
 “ evidence \* delivered by so many persons on the

\* Amongst the gentlemen who gave evidence were, Mr.  
 Verelst, Mr. Baber, Mr. Law, Mr. Golding, Mr. Lushington.

“ *customs, manners, and disposition of the natives*  
 “ *of India.*” What *new lights* have broke in  
 upon us since 1781! The new orders of mis-  
 sionaries are the most ignorant and the most  
 bigotted of men. Their compositions are, in  
 fact, nothing but puritanical rant of the most  
 vulgar kind; worse than that so much in fashion  
 in Great Britain during the days of Oliver Crom-  
 well. When Mr. Carey and Mr. Moore were at  
 Dacca, they write, on the Lord’s day, “ What an  
 “ awful sight have we witnessed this day! a  
 “ large and populous city, wholly given to ido-  
 “ latry, and not an individual to warn them to  
 “ flee from the wrath to come. As soon as we  
 “ rose in the morning, our attention was una-  
 “ voidably excited by scenes the most absurd, dis-  
 “ gusting, and degrading to human nature.”  
 Could men possessing common sense have written  
 such nonsense as this is unless blinded by enthu-  
 siasm? Had they discovered that a single English-  
 man was a convert to the Hindoo or to the Ma-  
 homedan religion, they would have been justified  
 in giving their sentiments *to him* as to his apostacy  
 from the true to a false and idolatrous religion,  
 but to pour out such unmeaning and useless abuse  
 on an immense population, which merely observed  
 those forms and ceremonies which had been used

Lieutenant-colonel Harper, Major Rennell, and Captain Cowe,  
 all of them highly distinguished in the Company’s service, and  
 men of exemplary character.

throughout Hindostan for above two thousand years, is folly and arrogance in the extreme.

Dr. Buchanan, in rather better language, exceeds these ignorant missionaries in violence and absurdity : he first describes the population of India, as bending submissively to our mild sway ; he calls them a passive people ; then he mentions instances of their firmness in their religion ; and adds, “ a *wise policy* seems to *demand* that we “ should use every means of *coercing* this contemptuous spirit of *our* native subjects.” More diabolical advice could not have been given by the most determined despot upon earth. Such a sentiment from an English clergyman strikes the mind with horror.

Dr. Buchanan must, as I conceive, have been thus provoked to forget himself, by the contemptuous behaviour of the natives, to his friends the Baptist missionaries. Would he *coerce* the people of India because they returned abuse for abuse ? A copy of one of the pamphlets, as the missionaries call the papers they gave away, is in England. In that paper, the people are exhorted to abandon their idolatrous Shastah, and to embrace the religion taught by the true Shastah, the Holy Bible. Should we be surprised, if, instead of of abuse, the people had thrown such madmen into the Ganges ?

It is a *principle* amongst the Hindoos, to hold the professors of every religion in respect, and to

“speak with respect of every religion. They admit of *no converts to their religion*. Why is it then, that, in the case of these missionaries, and in their presence, they loaded the Gospel with abuse? Because in the pamphlets, so profusely distributed, *the Hindoo religion was abused*.”

The missionaries represent to their Society, the great service that may be done to the cause by the exertions of active native converts, “who might  
“get *silent and unperceived* into houses, and  
“scatter the precious seed; whereas, *the mere*  
“*appearance of an English missionary in a bi-*  
“*gotted city would occasion the greatest alarm.*” After so frank a confession, can the Legislature hesitate an instant in recalling these madmen from Bengal? What city, town, or village, in Hindostan, is not filled with *bigots*, if the true meaning of the word bigotry is, that every man who thinks differently from these missionaries is a bigot? The fair way to state the fact is, that the whole population of Hindostan are *invariably* attached to their religion and local customs; and consequently, the appearance of English missionaries, who have gone such lengths as these men have gone, must create *universal alarm*. The people of India know, that, without permission, no Englishmen can go into the interior parts of Bengal, although Mr. Carey and Mr. Moore had the presumption to do so: they conceive, there-

fore, that Government approves the conduct of these missionaries.

Formerly the people respected missionaries, as quiet and inoffensive men. Mr. Keirnander, a Danish missionary, was more than twenty years in Bengal, without exciting the smallest alarm amongst the people. The Roman missionaries were equally inoffensive; but had one of them presumed in those days to circulate religious pamphlets abusing the religion of Mahomed, or the Shastah, Government would instantly have interfered, and would have effectually resented so gross an abuse of its indulgence in permitting them to exercise their missionary functions.

That these men have been most imprudently encouraged, is clear from their own letters to their Society. “ Situated in one of the best places in the  
“ world, perhaps, for a central missionary station,  
“ *favour granted us, in the eyes of the Govern-*  
“ *ment*, the knowledge of several of the country  
“ languages, the means of acquiring the rest, a  
“ *printing-press*, a good number of native bre-  
“ thren to carry the glad tidings abroad, a body  
“ *organized*, experienced in some degree, and  
“ *animated, I hope, with one spirit.*” A most alarming information is here given; but for the honour of the British Government, I hope and believe it is not true, that favour, if by that they mean *encouragement*, has been shewn to them. That Mr. Browne and Dr. Buchanan have afforded

them a most mischievous degree of encouragement is certain ; but I cannot believe that Lord Wellesley, who evinced a laudable anxiety to extend the religious foundations of India, could have encouraged men, whose object it is to overturn all the ancient institutions of the country.

But with all these advantages, these men, in the course of several years, have literally done nothing as to the great cause in which they are engaged, the conversion “ of the perishing millions,” as they call the people of India. Their converts are few, from the very dregs of the people ; and when these converts appear, even in the presence of the missionaries, they are reviled, threatened, and abused by the people at large : such is the account given by the missionaries themselves. These men, however, have lately procured very powerful auxiliaries in the British and Foreign Bible Society, the sphere of whose operations extends from “ Iceland to the Cape of Good Hope and Van Diemen’s Land ; from Hindostan, and the shores of the Caspian, to Buenos Ayres and the lakes of North America.” They “ see no *limits* to the *beneficial operations* of this institution than that which its funds may prescribe !”

Buenos Ayres is a very sore subject at present. To send a missionary there, which one of the Societies did, as soon as they heard of the capture of that city, was a most flagrant violation of the

public faith : as such it must have appeared to His Majesty's Ministers ; and, therefore, I presume the man was smuggled out in one of the unfortunate merchant-ships. The place was recaptured, and he waited the event of General Whitelock's operations. The British and Foreign Bible Society, had we regained possession of Buenos Ayres, would equally have violated the public faith by sending Bibles in the Spanish or American language to that city. It surrendered on articles, one of which was the free exercise of the Catholic religion. It was a heavy and a just charge against James the Second, that he *encouraged* conversion, and loaded the converts to the Catholic religion with honours and emoluments : this was fairly deemed a breach of his solemn engagement to his subjects. Equally so were the attempts of the Missionary and Bible Societies at Buenos Ayres. So far as to the injustice of their acts ; but the folly and the madness, as I may say, of the attempt exceeded its injustice. Those who know any thing of Spanish and Portugeze America, must know, that the attachment of the people of those countries to their religion and their priests, can only be exceeded by the attachment of the *natives of India to their religion*. The Spaniards of South America have not yet dropped the word *heretic*, in speaking of Protestants ; and the universal *hatred*, of which the General and the Admiral complain, is more likely to have been caused

from the folly of sending out a *Protestant Missionary* than by any other circumstance.

• Whether the circulation of four or five thousand copies of the Bible in the Chinese language, when we have discovered the mode of circulating them, may not deprive us for ever of our commerce with China, is a very doubtful point. The Chinese have viewed, with much jealousy, the extension of our Oriental empire; and this new attempt to conquer the minds of three hundred millions, by converting them to the true religion, or by our endeavours to do so, may be very seriously resented.

• But in India this Bible Society seem to have made their greatest efforts. They have a Committee in Calcutta. They have already remitted two thousand pounds to that Committee for translating the Scriptures into all the Oriental languages, and into the Chinese language also. These great works are conducted “under the auspices of the College of Fort William,” and the Baptist missionaries are the translators. Parts are already finished, and gratuitously circulated. Two hundred copies of St. Matthew’s Gospel, in the Maratta language, were sent by Mr. Taylor, a missionary, to Surat, to be given away amongst the natives—a circumstance that may produce another *Maratta war*.

The Reverend Mr. Browne, Provost of the College, writes, on the 13th September 1806, that no



plan formed from the beginning of the world ever met *with such general approbation* as that of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This assertion is most grossly erroneous. The religious mutiny of Vellore broke out *on the 9th of July 1806*; it was known in Calcutta by the end of that month, and it occasioned universal alarm, not in that city alone, but throughout Hindostan. A general revolt of the native troops was apprehended.

On the 3d of December, nearly five months *after* the mutiny, so great was the alarm still, that the Madras Government attempted, by a Proclamation, to tranquillize the minds of the people on the subject of religion. Our countrymen in India are neither madmen nor idiots; and I have seen many letters which impute the religious mutiny of Vellore, not to the regulations as to dress *alone*, impolitic as they undoubtedly were, but to the great increase of missionaries, to their being *Englishmen*, to the encouragement they had received from persons in authority under our Government, and to the circulation of parts of the Scriptures, religious tracts, and pamphlets. If the fact stated in the Proclamation *be true* (and there can be no reason to doubt it), shall we suppose that the enemies of Government, who had persuaded the native troops to *believe* that we meant to *compel* them to embrace Christianity, would not make *the most* of our folly? and could they neglect to *increase* their fears, by omitting to state what was

so palpable, the efforts used by missionaries of late years, and the profuse circulation of the Scriptures throughout the country ?

The evidence which I have taken from the letters of the Baptist missionaries to their Society in England, completely *refutes* the assertion of Dr. Buchanan, that such is the ignorance and *apathy* of the Hindoos, no means of *instruction* will give them serious offence *except positive violence*. Indeed, when I read the remark, I was convinced that the zeal of the Doctor had clouded his reason : but now we see that men, who had no power to use *positive violence*, were hooted at, abused, and actually driven away from some villages, merely for offering to the Hindoos *the means of instruction*. Not the Bramins alone, but Hindoos of inferior casts, were both *offended* and *alarmed*. An *Englishman* in Bengal must act very imprudently indeed before a Hindoo would abuse him to his face ; and what imprudence could equal that of *instructing* the natives by telling them that they professed an idolatrous, and a false religion ? I had not a conception of the extent to which these missionaries had carried their folly and their presumption, until I lately read the 16th Report of the Baptist Society.

If, from the liberal supplies of the Bible and Missionary Societies, the Scriptures should be translated into all the Oriental languages, “ under the auspices of the College of Fort William,”

how are they to be circulated ? I never can believe that the Court of Directors will order their Governments in India to send copies to the collectors and magistrates of the various districts, for the purpose of being gratuitously dispersed amongst the people. Will the missionaries be allowed to spread themselves over India each with a train of Hackries loaded with Bibles and religious pamphlets ? Shall a warehouse be opened at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and the people invited, by public advertisement, to take away as many copies as they choose ? How is it possible that a distribution can be made so as to make it appear that *Government* gives no sort of countenance to the undertaking ? In fact, if the ingenuity of Buonaparte had been exercised in devising a plan, that with more certainty than any other would destroy the British empire in India, he would have recommended the very plan adopted by the Bible Society. Of what avail would be the most solemn assurances of the British Government, while we displayed such an anxiety to introduce our own religion amongst the people ? I appeal to the good sense of gentlemen who have served in India, and I ask them what the natives, Hindoos and Mahomedans, would say to the language that must be held to them if we persist in our folly ? “ The  
 “ British Government has invariably fostered and  
 “ protected your religion, your laws, and your  
 “ local customs, and it will continue so to do ;

“ but it is a duty which Englishmen owe *to God,*  
 “ *to themselves, and to you,* to inform you, that  
 “ the religion of you Mahomedans is a degrading  
 “ and bloody superstition, and that the religion  
 “ of you Hindoos is idolatrous and immoral. In  
 “ order to enlighten you, we have translated our  
 “ Holy Scriptures into the various languages of  
 “ India. We have sent missionaries amongst you  
 “ for your instruction, and in the hopes of your  
 “ embracing the only true religion; but if you  
 “ still continue obstinate in error, we will inter-  
 “ fere no further.”

I think I may venture to say, that if we go to this length (and if we stop short of it, we attempt *nothing*) a general insurrection will be the inevitable consequence.

Let us not deceive ourselves, by supposing that the natives, whose suspicions are now roused, will think we are sincere in our declarations, while an English missionary remains in India, or while our Holy Scriptures are gratuitously circulated throughout Hindostan.

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P. S. I have just read the Second Edition of Mr. Twining's most excellent Letter. Had that gentleman known, what I was not acquainted with many days ago, the dangerous measures which have already been adopted in India, I am sure he would have saved me the trouble of writing these

remarks. In one point, however, I hope and believe Mr. Twining has been misinformed. It is not possible to ascribe his conduct in writing to the Chairman to a party motive, for the subject is too big for party. From hostility to the Company he could not have acted ; since he recommends the adoption of measures, which, in his opinion, can alone preserve India to Great Britain. If there are gentlemen who do not view the conduct of the evangelical clergymen and English missionaries with the same dread and alarm that we do, I am confident those gentlemen are too candid and too liberal to suppose that in publishing our opinions we mean personal hostility to them. For the gentlemen to whom I allude, I feel the strongest sentiments of regard and esteem ; but they have been too long in public life to expect that the most intimate friends will always think alike on great political questions. Their ultimate objects and ours *are precisely the same*, the security of the British empire in India, and the ease, welfare, and happiness of the people.

Those desirable objects can, *in my opinion*, be only attained by our immediately reverting to those principles which met with unanimous approbation in the year 1781.

# OBSERVATIONS,

*&c.*

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THE present state of the Finances of the East India Company has been brought before the public, with great clearness and precision, by Sir Philip Francis, in a Letter to Lord Viscount Howick; and, as the documents on which he relies are those which were presented to Parliament by the East India Company, there can be no dispute as to their accuracy.

From these documents it appears, that in India, in 1805-6, the expenses would exceed the receipts more than two millions six hundred thousand pounds; and at home, the expenses of the Company, to March 1805, will be more by two millions two hundred thousand pounds than they will have assets to answer in that period.

It is impossible to conceive a more gloomy picture than is here represented; but it does not of necessity follow that the Company is on the eve of bankruptcy, because in the present year their expenditure so far exceeds their receipts. Sir Philip Francis, however, has stated, that in the three

last years the Company has received three millions sterling due to them for money advanced to the Government in India, and eight hundred thousand pounds borrowed from the Bank. These facts are not controverted; but Mr. Grant, the Deputy Chairman, has stated, on the other side, that the Company has goods in their warehouses to the amount of many millions sterling, which, from the peculiar circumstances of the present times, they have not been able to sell. Unless, therefore, we suppose that these peculiar circumstances are to continue, the Company at home will be relieved in another year from their present embarrassments.

The state of their affairs in India is taken from an estimate of 1805-6, where, though it is admitted their receipts were nearly fourteen millions three hundred thousand pounds, their expenses were so enormous as to leave a deficit of more than two millions six hundred thousand pounds. We admit the correctness of Sir Philip Francis's statement; but it is fair to observe that the estimate of 1805-6, was drawn up prior to the 1st of April 1805, when we were involved in a Mahratta war, and when we had armies in the field in every quarter of Indostan. But we know that a general peace was concluded in November 1805; that, in consequence of the peace, the different armies returned to garrisons or cantonments; and every man who has served in India must know that

the difference of expense between armies in the field and in garrisons and cantonments is enormous, so that we may fairly conclude, one million at the least would be saved in the year 1805-6. In the following year the writer conceives that the expenses of India would be less by four millions sterling than the estimate of 1805-6.

It is not our wish or intention to go into the merits or demerits of Lord Wellesley's administration. We will merely state the facts: During that administration the Company's revenues have been increased five millions sterling, and a debt of twenty millions was contracted; in addition to this debt, bullion, to the amount of many millions, was exported to India, although from 1765, to the period of his Lordship's administration, no bullion was exported to India. But three millions of this debt has been repaid by Government to the Company in England, and a further sum is yet due to them. In Lord Cornwallis's first administration the Company had a clear available surplus of one million in India, after paying all their expenses, and the interest of the debt, which was then ten millions. Mr. Grant states, that in 1808 there will be a surplus of one million; and if this be *all*, the conclusion is evident, that, with an increased revenue of five millions sterling, the Company is worse off than it was in 1794, because *then* they had the same surplus of one million, with a debt of only ten millions, instead of a debt of



thirty millions, which all parties agree is the amount of the present debt of India.

But as the fact is on all sides admitted, that the resources in India are annually fourteen millions three hundred thousand pounds, and there is a great probability that, under our superior management, they may be increased at the least to fifteen millions sterling a year, the future prosperity of the East India Company must depend on the use which is made not by the Court of Directors, but by His Majesty's Ministers, of this immense annual revenue. Money is at present in such plenty in India, that the bonds which bore an interest of ten and twelve per cent. are paid off, and the whole debt bears but an interest of eight per cent. Supposing the debt to be thirty millions, the interest of it will be £2,400,000: this will leave twelve millions sterling for expenses of every kind. In the civil establishment no reduction of any consequence can be made. In the military establishment you cannot possibly reduce the pay and allowances either of officers or men. But is there a necessity of keeping up so large an army in India? We think not. But if that necessity does exist, the extension of our empire during Lord Wellesley's administration, and the acquisition of resources to the amount of five millions annually, has been a very great misfortune to the Company in point of finance, because the debt has been trebled in India, and the surplus of 1808 is not

expected to exceed that of 1794, when the Company owed but ten millions in India.

The late Mr. David Scott stated the force necessary for India at twenty-five thousand European, and one hundred and twenty-five thousand native troops. We conceive that an effective European force of ten thousand men would be amply sufficient for all India, and that seventy thousand Sepoys, with sixteen regiments of native cavalry (the present establishment of native cavalry), would be sufficient for the service of all India either in war or peace. With such an establishment, and supposing we are in no danger of another Mahratta war, which the writer thinks we are not, he is convinced that there may be a surplus in India of more than two millions annually.

As to a fixed establishment of twenty-five thousand Europeans in India, we do not conceive the population of the British empire can afford such a drain of men as it would require to keep up such a force. With respect to our native troops, if the numbers were now to be reduced, we could increase them to any extent, if the necessity should arise in future. In fact, the prosperity or the ruin of the Company's finances in India will depend entirely on what the King's Ministers may determine as to the military establishments in India.

The writer has often heard the remark, that the disproportion between the European and the native troops in India is a very alarming circumstance,

and we presume that it appears so to the King's India Ministers, because in the three last years they have sent a very large force to India. We are confident, however, that no disproportion between the European and native forces in India can be attended with the smallest danger, while the Sepoy regiments are well treated, regularly paid, and fully officered. There are not in the world soldiers more attached to the service, more faithful, or more submissive to discipline, than our native troops in India. The alarming mutiny at Vellore has now happily subsided. We know that that mutiny was excited by the sons of Tippoo Sultaun, whose emissaries insinuated that the change which we wished to adopt in the dress of the Sepoys was only a preparatory step towards the accomplishment of our great object, which was to compel them to embrace Christianity. If private accounts from India are to be relied upon, the alarm was very general; but as our Governments in India have taken every method to convince the natives that we shall pay the same regard to their religious opinions and customs as we have heretofore invariably done, we cannot conceive there is the smallest danger of another mutiny, unless indeed we should adopt a new system in India.

If the subject is dispassionately considered, it will be found that individuals, by a misplaced zeal, have given our enemies in India plausible grounds

for asserting that we wished to convert the natives to Christianity ; and it is not easy to convince a native of India, that where power is lodged, what is once desired, will not very soon be ordered.

For many centuries, we believe, Christian Missionaries have resided in India with the free consent of the native princes. These men were generally, if not universally, pure in their morals and inoffensive in their conduct, and many of them highly respected by the princes of India, who allowed them to preach the Gospel, and to make as many converts as they could to the Christian religion. Such, however, is the strong attachment, both of Hindoos and Mahomedans, to the religion of their forefathers, that few even, if any, converts were made except of men who were of characters notoriously infamous, and who had forfeited their casts, from a neglect of their religious ceremonies. The writer knew a very worthy Italian priest in Bengal, who had been twenty years a Missionary in India, and who told him that in twenty years he had made but twenty converts, and that those were men of very bad characters. He was so convinced of the strong attachment of the natives to their own religion, as to assure the writer, that on his arrival at Rome he should represent to the Pope the inutility of sending Missionaries to India in future. Yet no man was more respected by the natives of Bengal. Mr. Schwartz in Tanjore was equally re-

spected by the Rajah, and by every English gentleman ; even the British government owed much to the good offices of Mr. Schwartz during the war with Hyder Ally. This worthy and highly respected man however made but very few converts during his long residence in India, and though he was for many years the favourite of the sovereign of Tanjore.

In 1793, when the Company's charter was renewed, some pious and worthy members of both Houses expressed their wish that methods might be adopted to civilize the natives of India. Nothing however was done by the authority of Parliament, but the establishment of clergymen for India was increased from six to eighteen ; Missionaries from different religious societies in Europe were increased also, and the religious Magazines have latterly contained accounts of the success of these Missionaries, to which we cannot give credit.

In the year 1795, the Rev. Mr. Buchanan, a man of profound erudition, and of great piety, was sent out to Bengal, as one of the clergymen on that establishment. Under the auspices of that gentleman, the Four Gospels have been translated into the different languages of India, and many thousand copies distributed gratis in that country. In the year 1805 Mr. Buchanan published a book, which he dedicated to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and he quotes the authority of the present Bishop

of London, to prove, that an ecclesiastical establishment for India is indispensably necessary. Mr. Buchanan proposes that this establishment should consist of an Archbishop, three Bishops, and an indefinite number of inferior clergy. We do not believe that the British subjects in India exceed thirty thousand, including the army; consequently, two clergymen at each capital, and twelve chaplains for the army, appears to be a competent number, and that is the present establishment. But Mr. Buchanan goes on to explain very fairly and fully what is his object in proposing an ecclesiastical establishment: it is, as he says, to convert fifty millions of men to Christianity, which in another generation he supposes *to be very practicable*.

No Englishman could object to this plan, unless he was convinced of its impracticability, and convinced also that the very attempt would inevitably lose the British empire in India. The Mahomedans, whose zeal for making converts by the sword has always been notorious, found it impossible to convert the Hindoos, and they very early gave up the point. We are now the sovereign power over both Mahomedans and Hindoos, and it has been our invariable practice to pay the most sacred attention to the religious opinions and prejudices of both descriptions of our subjects.

When Marquis Wellesley obtained a cession of a part of the dominions of the Nabob of Oude,

acting upon the wise principles which had invariably marked the British Government in India, he sent the following orders to the Resident at Lucknow: "In considering the measures to be adopted, it will occur to you, that no proceeding can be more calculated to conciliate all descriptions and classes of people than a liberal attention to the religious establishments and charitable foundations of the country. I accordingly authorize you to take the necessary steps for affording the people of Oude the most ample satisfaction on this subject; and I desire you will furnish me with a statement of such public endowments of both the Hindoo and Mahomedan religion, as you may propose to confirm *or extend*."

These instructions do infinite credit to Marquis Wellesley; and we have heard from private accounts, that he displayed the same spirit of conciliation on another occasion.

Mr. Buchanan is Vice Provost of the College in Calcutta. He proposed as a thesis for public disputation, the superior excellence of the Christian religion over that of Mahomed or the Shaster. The Mahomedan and Hindoo professors of the College waited upon the Marquis, and represented to him the unfairness of such a thesis. His Lordship instantly ordered it to be abandoned, and assured them the British Government would continue to pay the most sacred regard to the reli-

gion and the customs of every description of their subjects. Mr. Buchanan in his book proposes that the destitute children of Mahomedans and Hindoos should by compulsion embrace the Christian religion. If his plan were adopted, and if the ecclesiastical establishment which he and the Bishop of London conceive to be indispensably necessary for India, were to be formed, what would be the conclusion of the people of India? No other than this: that if they could not be reasoned out of the religion of their forefathers, they would be compelled to embrace Christianity. We know that we are incapable of resorting to compulsion to effect such a purpose; but if the natives were to see a number of clergymen spread over Indostan, paid and encouraged by the British Government, they would feel the most serious alarm. Although the regulations for the native troops on the Coast as to dress were not all carried into effect, they were publicly known. One was, a material change in the form of the turban; a second, that the Hindoos should not wear the red marks on their foreheads, nor ear-rings in their ears when on duty—both distinguishing marks of their religion; and a third, that the beards should be uniformly cut. The native troops in Vellore were led on to mutiny, by being told that the next measure of the British Government would be, to order them to become Christians. It is well known, that the Portuguese in the 16th century lost the territorial



dominion which they had acquired, by their zeal for converting the natives to Christianity.

Missionaries can do no mischief in India if they are treated as formerly, neither encouraged nor oppressed. But if men paid by the British Government in India are encouraged to make converts to Christianity, our empire will be in more danger than what it was from a French or a Mahratta war.

We hope and believe that no further ill effects will be produced by the late mutiny at Vellore, and that it will not be thought necessary to keep up so large an European force in India as twenty-five thousand men, nor so numerous a body of native troops. If, instead of a revenue of fifteen millions, we had a revenue of twenty-five millions, of what consequence would it be, provided the whole were absorbed by our expenses?

Mr. Grant has very fairly and candidly stated the causes to which we must attribute the failure of the calculation formed by Lord Melville in 1793. At that period, with an Indian revenue of less than ten millions, we had a clear available surplus of one million. From causes not depending at all upon the Company, their expenses at home have greatly increased, while from the same causes their sales have been diminished. The Company does but participate in the common calamity attendant upon a protracted war. The national debt has been trebled since 1793, and there

is no sale, though at a very reduced price, for a considerable part of the produce of the West India islands.

For the state of our affairs in India the Directors are in no degree responsible; they have displayed the most laudable anxiety to increase the export trade from Great Britain to India, and they have succeeded. They have encouraged and improved every branch of trade in India, but the establishments necessary for the preservation of India were not of their formation; the responsibility rests with the Board of Commissioners, who have avowed their sole responsibility.

Marquis Wellesley was selected for the government of India by Mr. Pitt. In the great measures of his administration, the conquest of Mysore, the Mahratta war, and the subsidiary treaties, he acted from himself. The result was this, that he acquired an additional revenue of five millions, and contracted a debt of twenty millions sterling. No one will dispute this fact, that by the conquest of Mysore, and the destruction of the powerful ally of France, Tippoo Sultan, Lord Wellesley gave additional security to the British empire in India. He was actuated by the same sense of public duty in his subsequent political measures, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the policy of those measures, namely, the Mahratta war and the subsidiary treaties. But if we consider the East India Company as a temporary body,

whose charter is to expire in a few years, Lord Wellesley has not consulted their interests, because it was thir interest to look to immediate profit, without a view to future advantage. If the same scale of expense which was sufficient for 1795 had continued to this day, the Company would have been nearly free from debt in India, instead of owing there thirty millions sterling. But those who know the constitution of the Company, know that they have no political power, and if they had such a power, they might use it for temporary advantages, though ultimately to the loss or dishonour of the British nation. Such at least was the argument used in 1784, when the Legislature conferred upon a Board of Commissioners the complete control over every part of the Company's affairs, except those which related strictly to commerce.

The great question, as applied to the British nation, is this, Whether the extension of our empire in India, and the acquisition of a revenue of five millions sterling, is of advantage, or the reverse? In a pecuniary point of view, the question is easily answered. The interest of the debt contracted in this acquisition is £1,600,000 at 8 per cent. ; and if the addition to our expenses is £3,400,000, now that peace is restored on the whole continent of India, we are just as we were as to a surplus in 1798, and owing twenty millions more than we did at that period. But on the other hand, we

have destroyed our most formidable enemy, and the ally of France ; nor can we have any thing to dread from a Mahratta power in future.

Much has been said of the fallacy of Indian accounts, and of the complete failure of the promises held out by Lord Melville in 1793. We affirm, that the accounts were minutely correct in 1793, and that since that period the resources of India have been greatly increased. On this important head therefore there was no fallacy in Lord Melville's accounts. We do not accuse him of fallacy on the other, and the material branch of the accounts, namely, the use to which these resources were to be applied ; but we say, that here he was grossly mistaken, because the expenses of India have beyond calculation almost exceeded his estimate of them. His calculations went on the idea of peace both in Europe and in India. Those who refer to his Speech in 1793, will find the fact to be as we have stated it : but we affirm, that the Company cannot be charged with deception of any kind, nor are they responsible for the failure of Lord Melville's calculations in 1793.

Accustomed as we have been to an increase of our national debt, there are many who conceive a debt in India of thirty millions to be of little consequence, because we have a revenue of more than fourteen millions. We however conceive it an evil of a very alarming magnitude, because at 8 per cent. the interest of a debt of 30 millions is

£2,400,000, and we can raise no taxes in India. We cannot increase our landed revenue, at least not to any considerable amount, and even that must be from the ceded or conquered countries. The invcesment must be kept up, or the manufactures would be lost in future. It is for His Majesty's Ministers to determine whether the surplus in India shall in future be three, two, or one million. The Directors have no power, because the strength of our Indian armies must be settled by the King's India Ministers. If the army in Lord Cornwallis's administration in 1794 would be of sufficient strength to answer every purpose of peace or war now, the surplus in India would be more than three millions sterling, and less or more according to what the expenses of the army in India shall be in future. But as far as we can judge, it seems to be the policy of the King's Ministers rather to increase, than to diminish, the strength of the army in India. If that be the policy, he must indeed be very ignorant or very sanguine, who looks for the surplus of a single shilling: and it appears to the writer that the alarm occasioned by the mutiny at Vellore has induced His Majesty's Ministers to make a great addition to the European force in India, and for which addition Sir George Barlow had not provided most certainly in the estimate alluded to by Mr. Grant at the India House. If such an increase of the European force in India were necessary, it is melan-

choly to reflect, that by our own folly we have created the necessity, at a time when our finances are so low in India, and when this country has so many demands for men. It has been the fashion to lay the whole blame of the late mutiny on the Madras government and Sir John Craddock. It is clear, however, that the Commander in Chief was struck with the great change proposed to be made in the dress of the Sepoys, and that he asked whether such a change would not interfere with their religious customs. He was answered by old officers, that it would not, and yielded his own judgment to that of others. But the use which Tippoo Sultaun's sons made of the regulations, was to represent them as preparatory to our plan for compelling them to become Christians. It is incumbent therefore on the King's Ministers to support Sir George Barlow in the means that he has taken to quiet the minds of the natives on this subject; and when that is done, if the disproportion between the European and native troops was as one to twenty, it will be of no consequence, while the Sepoy regiments are fully officered and ably commanded.

The subject strikes the writer as of such importance, that he cannot avoid again recurring to it, because he is convinced, that though the regulations as to dress might have occasioned much inurmuring, the blood of our countrymen would not have been shed at Vellore, had not the native

troops been persuaded, that we should proceed to compel them to become Christians.

In the newspaper of this day we read that Mr. Buchanan, the Vice-Provost of the College in Calcutta, has given two sums of five hundred pounds each to our universities, for the best prose dissertation, on a subject highly dangerous to be agitated—the practicability of converting the natives of India to the Christian religion. If what has already happened does not open the eyes of His Majesty's Ministers, if they do not feel the necessity of disavowing their participation in the visionary schemes of Mr. Buchanan, our empire in India is not worth a year's purchase.

We know that those who are most zealous for the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity would be incapable of resorting to fire and the sword, as the Portuguese did in the sixteenth century, to attain their object. But will it be possible to convince the natives of India, that if the Government interferes on this subject, it will not ultimately have recourse to compulsion? Suppose for one moment that the Ministers were to adopt the opinion of the Bishop of London and Mr. Buchanan, as to the indispensable necessity of an ecclesiastical establishment for India, to consist of an Archbishop, three Bishops, and a regiment of inferior clergy spread over Indostan—we say nothing of the expense, though that would amount to two hundred thousand pounds a year at the least:

the Archbishop must be next in rank to the Governor General, with a salary double to that of His Grace of Canterbury; the Bishops could not have less than £15,000 a year each, and the inferior clergy could not be expected to leave England at a less salary than £1000 a year.

The natives of India are already a civilized people; they were so, as Mr. Burke truly said, while we were yet in the woods; they reason well; they have seen the progressive increase of our army since 1765, and they see that we now possess all that is worth having in Indostan. But hitherto they have remarked that we have not only left to them the free exercise of their religion, but with a wise and liberal policy we have continued, and in many instances extended, their religious foundations, whether Mahomedan or of the Hindoos. Our officers acquire their language, and respect their local and religious customs. The gentlemen of the civil service, who are employed in the judicial or revenue branches, must be complete masters of the Persian and Hindostan language, and thoroughly acquainted with the Hindoo and Mahomedan code of laws. What would their sensations be, if Mr. Buchanan's plan were adopted? They would see Princes in our church, ranking next to the Governor General, and a body of clergymen spread over India, for the declared purpose of converting fifty millions of people to the Christian religion. Mr. Buchanan's book is most



probably translated by this time into the languages of India, and in that book the object which he has in view is fairly avowed. He would commence by compelling the destitute children of Mahomedans and Hindoos to become Christians. The people of India would conclude that we were determined to carry their conversion by compulsion, if we could not succeed by other means.

It is necessary therefore that the King's Ministers should in their own name repeat the assurances so often given by Lord Wellesley and his predecessors, and repeated latterly by Sir George Barlow, that we should continue to pay the most sacred regard to their religious opinions and to local customs, and that they should disavow all participation in the visionary and impracticable plan of converting them to Christianity. The Missionaries now in India, or those who may go thither in future, should be treated by our Government as they formerly were by the native princes. In that case they may be as zealous as possible without doing mischief. Mr. Buchanan says, that the Four Gospels have been translated, and liberally distributed. If that was done at the expense of the Bible Society of England, or of the other religious societies in Europe, the measure was laudable; but if at the expense of the Company, and from their press, it was most impolitic, and made use of, no doubt, by the sons of Tippoo Suitahn to excite the Sepoys to mutiny. The true

line for the British Government to pursue is obvious : let Missionaries make as many converts as they can, but give them no support on the one hand, nor discouragement on the other. The human mind is easily misled, when a favourite object is in pursuit. Mr. Buchanan publishes in his book a letter written by George the First to a German Missionary in India, and also a letter from Dr. Wake, then Archbishop of Canterbury. In both letters the piety and zeal of the Missionary are warmly and justly commended : but in truth, these letters are as inapplicable to the present time, as to the days of Adam. The German Missionary resided in the dominions of a native prince, and we had then neither power nor territory in India. That prince permitted the German to preach the Gospel, and George the First was pleased with his success. Let us copy the example of the native princes in allowing the Missionaries of this day to preach the Gospel also, but there let us stop, unless we wish to sacrifice the lives of our countrymen, and to lose our empire in India. Mr. Buchanan has been liberally paid by the Company, or he could not have spared a thousand pounds for two prose dissertations on speculative and very dangerous subjects. The contradiction, to be sure, is wonderful. Marquis Wellesley, with a laudable anxiety to conciliate our new subjects in Oude, proposes to increase, and even to *extend*, the religious establishments in that country. Mr.

Buchanan, who receives his pay from the Company, publishes a book, in which he asserts that it is *very practicable* to convert the natives to Christianity, and he gives a thousand pounds of the money which he has received from the Company, to establish his own opinions in our Universities.

Let us hope therefore that measures will be taken to convince the natives of India, that the British Government is as anxious at this moment, as it has ever been, to preserve to them the free exercise of their religion, and to regard their local habits of every kind. When their apprehensions are removed, we need not be alarmed at any disproportion of numbers between the British and the native troops. In every point of view it is of importance, that we should reduce our European force as low as possible, consistently with the security of our empire. Let it be recollected, that, with six battalions of Sepoys, and with less than a third of the number of officers now attached to a battalion, General Goddard marched across the continent of Indostan from Calpy to Guzzerat, and defeated Madajee Scindia. Let the gallantry of our native troops in the campaigns of Sir Eyre Coote, Lord Cornwallis, and in the late wars with Tippoo Sultaun and the Mahrattas, be considered; let us remember with what readiness several battalions embarked on the expedition to Egypt; and then we shall be convinced, that while they are

well paid, ably commanded as they ever have been, and every attention paid to their religious habits and local customs, we may place the strictest confidence on their personal attachment to us.

No two religions can be more distinct than the Mahomedan and the Hindoo; yet we mix Mahomedans and Hindoes in our Sepoy battalions: the men agree together perfectly well. The Christian religion is as different, as we think it is superior to either. No jealousy was ever entertained either by Mahomedan or Hindoo princes because Missionaries were settled in their countries, who now and then converted one of their subjects to Christianity. No jealousy will now be entertained of their having similar success, while the British Government, which stands in possession of the power formerly enjoyed by the native princes, is contented merely with following their example; but if it goes further, India is lost to Great Britain.

Of this important truth we never have conversed with a single gentleman who has served in India that entertains the smallest doubt.

Two pamphlets have lately been published on the impolicy of an exclusive trade to India. We are not now to consider whether it was politic or not to grant an exclusive trade to a Company as far back even as the reign of Queen Anne. But we presume these gentlemen will admit, that if there had been no East India Company, so far

from our possessing an extensive empire in India, we should not have had a factory there. The question when the Charter expires will be this: "Whether the British nation will most consult its own interest by granting to the Crown an immense empire in India, and by throwing the trade open, or by renewing the Charter? Whether, reasoning from general principles as these writers do, following the example of Doctor Adam Smith, they are right, as applied to a situation unexampled in ancient or modern history, is a material consideration. We think that very great danger to our constitution, and ruin to individuals, would be the consequence of abolishing the East India Company; but we leave the detail to abler heads than ours. The reflections which these writers have cast upon the Directors are in the highest degree illiberal and unjust. They say that, since 1793, the Directors have so grossly mismanaged their affairs as to be loaded with debt, and involved in the greatest difficulties both at home and abroad. Admitting the distress, we ask them to prove the delinquency of the Court of Directors. Have they neglected to push the export trade, which is of so much importance to England, to its utmost possible extent? The great increase of their exports will prove that they have not. Will any man say, that, rather than borrow money, they ought to have stopped their home investments, because, from unexpected events, their sales decreased, and Bengal goods fell in value? Are these writers

aware of the fatal consequences that must have followed in India if the investments had been discontinued for a single year? Did they present false accounts to Parliament in 1793? Will any man say that at that time, after defraying our expenses of every kind, including the interest of the debt of ten millions, there was not a clear available surplus of one million sterling? What was the probability then? it was this, that in future years the surplus would increase. Who supposed in 1793 that the war in Europe would have continued for fourteen years, with a short armed truce, as we may call it, for fourteen months? Were not the calculations of Lord Melville, in 1793, all made upon the idea of a continued peace? Without any reference at all to India, have not the expenses of the Company in England been greatly increased, and their sales diminished, solely in consequence of the war in Europe?

With respect to the transactions in India, those who have studied the subject must know, that ever since the year 1784, the political power and the responsibility rest with the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India. This responsibility Lord Melville has again and again avowed. Those who choose to investigate the subject will discover, that the increase of the debt in India, since 1793, has been owing to the following causes :

1st, To the great addition made to the number of our troops.

2dly, To the extra expense of the war with Tippoo Sultaun, and afterwards with the Mah-rattas.

3dly, To the services ordered by His Majesty's Ministers, for which the Company has already been repaid three millions sterling in England.

4thly, To an increase in the civil charges of the East India Company, unauthorized by the Court of Directors.

If the army is now unnecessarily numerous, as we think it is, where does the responsibility rest? With the Board of Commissioners. The war with Tippoo Sultaun, which all parties conceive was both politic and just, was the act of Lord Wellesley: so was the Mahratta war, on the justice and policy of which there is a difference of opinion. It is as contrary to fact, as it is absurd and illiberal, to impute the embarrassments in India to the Court of Directors. Suppose the Charter were to expire to-morrow, and India transferred to the Crown, we should be glad these gentlemen would point out what political power the Crown would have, beyond what it possesses at the present moment.

Prior to the year 1784 the Directors did indeed possess great political power. It was then the fashion to speak of the absurdity of twenty-four merchants and captains of Indiamen being left to manage the affairs of a mighty empire, although under their management, and by the bravery and

abilities of their civil and military servants acting under their orders, that empire had been acquired, and considerably augmented during the calamitous period of the American war. Much was said of the want of vigour and abilities of the Directors, of the extravagance of their servants, of their commencing unjust and unnecessary wars, and of the oppression under which the natives laboured. To remedy these imaginary evils, the political power and the power of the sword were transferred from the Company to the Crown. An abstract proposition was voted in Parliament, that it was contrary to the honour, the policy, and the wish of the British nation to extend her empire in India. It was affirmed at the same time, that the civil and military establishments of the Company were to be put upon a more economical footing; and now let us see what was done under the authority of the Crown. The expense of the civil establishment was greatly increased; the peace establishment of the army, fixed in 1785, was nearly double the amount of the peace establishment of 1776; the British empire in India has been extended by the sovereignty of the Carnatic, the Northern Circars, and a considerable part of Oude, being transferred to the Company; the flourishing kingdom of Mysore and the province of Cuttack, became ours by conquest; the Nizam of the Deccan surrendered a part of his dominions in commutation for a subsidy for our troops employed to defend his



country; the Rajah of Tanjore did the same; we have a subsidiary treaty with the Peshwa of the Mahratta empire: so that, in fact, with the exception of Sindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, we are the sovereign of Indostan. What does this prove? Either that the charge of unbounded ambition, and an eager desire to extend the British empire in India, was a groundless charge when preferred against the Directors and their servants, or that the King's Ministers have acted upon the very principles which they so strongly condemned in 1784.

We would advise gentlemen who write in future upon the impolicy of an exclusive trade to India, to study the political constitution of the Company as established by law, before they censure the Court of Directors for acts which, if they merit censure at all, are the acts of the Board of Commissioners, or of those acting under their authority.

Mr. Grant, the Deputy Chairman, has been violently censured in the Morning Chronicle for his late speech in the General Court. That gentleman we think, from our personal knowledge of him, is incapable of asserting what he does not believe to be true, or of delivering his sentiments on a subject which he does not understand. But when he said that in 1807-8 there would be a surplus of one million, he quoted Sir George Barlow's letter as his authority.

Mr. Grant most truly stated, that measures adopted in India without the authority of the Directors had increased the debt to so alarming a height, and left them with a deficit instead of a surplus. The fact cannot be disputed. Since 1798 a debt of twenty millions was contracted in India. Mr. Grant also very truly stated the causes of the Company's embarrassments in England—increased expenses and diminished sales, both occasioned by the long war in Europe.

Mr. Grant by no means disputes the accuracy of Sir Philip Francis's statement; but he very clearly exculpates his own Court from the censures (not of Sir Philip Francis, who reasons candidly and fairly) of the two writers on the impolicy of an exclusive trade to India.

Sir Philip Francis was a member of the Supreme Council from 1774 to 1780. Our annual revenues were trifling in those days on a comparison with what they are at present: yet the Bengal treasury was full; there was no debt in India; and very large investments were sent to England, as well as pecuniary supplies to Madras, Bombay, and China. What was it that first interrupted this prosperity? War. The war with France, which brought on a Mahratta war, and afterwards an invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally Cawn. Our military establishment was necessarily increased, and we concluded that war with honour and with profit also; for the interest of the debt contracted

was not equal to the additional revenues obtained during the war. Sir Philip Francis knows perfectly well, that if, on the return of peace throughout India, our army had been reduced to the peace establishment of 1774, there would have been a very considerable surplus in India for the purchase of investments and the gradual liquidation of the debt contracted during the war. He knows also that no blame can be imputed to the Directors for their not reverting to the peace establishment of 1774, because the whole power was transferred to the Board of Control by Mr. Pitt's Bill of 1784, and the responsibility of the Directors was at an end.

The army in India was put upon a new and an increased establishment. From that day to this it has gone on increasing, until the expense of it in war more than absorbs the resources of India, great as they are.

In 1774, the whole revenues of India did not amount to seven millions sterling: yet in 1776, while Sir Philip Francis was a member of the Bengal Government, there was no debt in India, and above a million sterling in the treasury. Now we have a revenue of fourteen millions three hundred thousand pounds; yet it was estimated, that in 1805-6 our expenses in India would be more, by two millions and a half, than our receipts, that is, they would be nearly seventeen millions sterling.

The writer conceives, that the estimate of 1805-6

was a war estimate, and that the expenses of our armies in India in a war, and more particularly in a Mahratta war, are treble what they are in peace ; and he is confirmed in this idea from the expectations held out by Sir George Barlow, that in 1807-8 there will be a surplus of one million sterling. To create such a surplus, the expenses of 1807-8 must be £3,655,957 less than the estimated expenses of 1805-6. If such a saving were made merely by the return of peace, how much further might not that saving be carried, if a reduction were to take place in the numbers of our army ? This may be made, as applied to native troops, without any real diminution of our strength. We believe there are now in India sixty-six regiments, or one hundred and twenty battalions, of Sepoys, each regiment consisting of two battalions. If the number of men in each battalion were reduced one third, the saving would be very great ; and we know that in three days, should a necessity arise, we could at any time increase the number to a war establishment. We pay no bounty-money in India for native recruits ; and such is the attention paid to the discipline of our Sepoys, that they would be fit for service in a very short time.

On our Bengal frontier we have most undoubtedly acquired very great additional security by the cession of the Dooab, Rohilcund, Corah, and Allahabad, to the Company, in commutation of the

pecuniary subsidy heretofore paid by the Nabob of Oude. The cession of Cuttack, by which our possessions in Bengal are joined to the Northern Circars, was a most valuable acquisition. To this we have added the Carnatic, Tanjore, and the whole of Tippoo Sultaun's dominions. The Nizam and the Peshwa are in strict alliance with us : the former has ceded to us districts producing seven hundred thousand pounds a year, in payment of troops that protect his remaining dominions ; and we receive a subsidy in money from the Peshwa annually, in return for which a body of our troops is stationed in his dominions. With so immense an empire as we now possess in India, and to comply with our engagements to the Peshwa, the Nizam, and the Nabob of Oude, it is undoubtedly necessary to keep up a very large military force in India. Ten thousand European artillery, cavalry, and infantry, sixteen regiments of native cavalry, and one hundred and twenty-six battalions of Sepoys of 500 men in each battalion, which at the shortest notice might be increased to double that number, would be a most respectable force ; and if peace continues, which we have every reason to believe it will, the writer is confident, that, even with so large a military establishment, there would be an annual surplus of at least three millions sterling. Powerful as France is in Europe, what can she do against us in India ? In what part of India from the Coast of Coromandel to the

Bay of Bengal, could she land ten thousand men? What would be the expense of such an armament, when she must send bullion to pay her troops, and provisions in transports to feed them? From France we have nothing to dread in India; and there is no native power that can oppose us with the least prospect of success. Under these circumstances, therefore, it is for the King's India Minister to consider how far the army in India can be reduced. As to the Directors, they have no more power than the writer of these sheets. They may, it is true, originate a dispatch, to the Government of Bengal; but if the President of the Board of Commissioners should differ from them in opinion, their dispatch will be waste-paper; and the same upon every subject relative to India that is not purely commercial.

We have just read some observations on Mr. Grant's Speech, written, as we suppose, by a friend of Marquis Wellesley, in which Mr. Grant is accused of absurdity, for expressing a wish that the Company had an annual surplus to employ in the purchase of an investment, at a time when they have seven millions in goods in their warehouses for which there is no immediate sale. Lord Wellesley himself knows too much of India to approve of so absurd an attack on the Directors. The Company cannot with safety relinquish their investments, though for a time they may sell for less than the prime cost, or although they should

be obliged to purchase their investments with borrowed money. Mr. Grant stated a fact, which every man who understands any thing of India affairs must know to be true, that by the acts of Marquis Wellesley the debt of the Company had been increased in Bengal, and that, instead of a surplus, there was a deficit. Whether these acts were right or wrong, is another question. Mr. Grant merely spoke to the causes of the present embarrassments of the East India Company. These causes are obvious to every man of common understanding: increased expenses and diminished sales at home, both the consequences of the war in Europe; increase of debt and of expenses in India, both resulting from war; and the increase of military establishments. But it does not follow that Lord Wellesley is to blame; on the contrary, as we are convinced he never acted from corrupt or from personal motives, the utmost that can possibly be said against him is this, that his judgment was erroneous. Mr. Grant does not go even thus far. It remains to be proved that he has been wrong. If Marquis Wellesley were at the head of the Board of Commissioners, we believe it would form such an establishment for India as should pay the interest of the debt contracted during his administration, and, after defraying all other expenses, leave a surplus of three millions. But if he even did this, it would not at all weaken Mr. Grant's argument. The fact at

to Marquis Wellésley is perfectly clear. He has added five millions a year to the revenues of the East India Company ; he has increased their debt from ten to thirty millions sterling ; he has ~~not~~ left a power in India from which we can have any rational dread in future ; and he has totally destroyed that power which was in close alliance with France. But the advantages which, if properly used, are to result from his acts, can scarcely be felt, to any extent at least, during the short period that remains of the Company's Charter. They will ~~never~~ be felt if so great a revenue as fourteen millions three hundred thousand pounds a year is to be expended in the support of our India establishments, and in paying the interest of the debt of India.

In this opinion we are convinced Sir Philip Francis will agree with us. If the revenues of India do not exceed the expenses of India, of what advantage is India to Great Britain ? How can we say it is the brightest jewel in the British Crown ?

Many persons are of opinion that it would be a fortunate circumstance for Great Britain if our West India islands were ceded to America : these islands are a grave for British troops, and an enormous expense to England. India, on the contrary, has been a source of great wealth to the mother-country. The extension of our empire in India, since the year 1784, has most undoubt-



edly produced temporary evils, because the additional resources acquired by that extension have not been equal to the additional expenses. A private gentleman of £1000 a year, who spends but £800, is a rich man; one of £5000 who spends six, is poor. So it is with the Company; she was rich when, with a revenue of less than seven millions, in 1776, she had a million surplus, and above a million in the treasury of Bengal. She may be rich again, if, with a revenue of fourteen millions three hundred thousand pounds, she can reduce her annual expenses in India to nine millions.

In discussing political questions a certain degree of acquaintance with the subject is supposed to be requisite; but men have written on the past and present state of India who really were ignorant of the constitution of the East India Company. So great a statesman as Mr. Fox once proposed a plan for the better government of India, and, in his opening speech, betrayed an ignorance which would have been exposed by an Ensign who had been six months in the service. Mr. Burke had industry, but he was a madman on the subject of India. Sir Philip Francis possesses both talents and industry. He was a member of the Supreme Council from 1774 to 1780: he was deeply impressed with the wisdom of the instructions which he carried out from the Court of Directors, that the safety and prosperity of Bengal were to be the first

objects of the Bēngal Government. This was also the opinion of Mr. Hastings; and where they differed was, whether that safety was best to be secured, by counteracting the views of France by opposing her in the first instance.

From 1784 to 1801, a period of sixteen years, Lord Melville was the India Minister, appointed by law, under Mr. Pitt's Bill. No man will say that he wanted application.

His Lordship had been Chairman of a Secret Committee, and in that character he condemned in the strongest terms every attempt to extend the British empire in India. He said much of the great expenses of the army in India, and of the civil establishments.

With these sentiments Lord Melville commenced his administration in 1784. The fundamental principle of it, as proposed by himself and voted by the House of Commons, was, that to extend the British empire in India was contrary to the honour, the policy, and the interest of the British nation. But the fact is, that since the year 1784, the empire of Great Britain in India has been greatly extended, and its influence extends over all Indostan. As we are of no party, we may be allowed to state the truth. India remained in profound peace from 1784 to 1790, when Tippoo Sultan attacked our ally, the Rajah of Travancore. Lord Cornwallis remonstrated, and receiving no satisfaction, he commenced hos-

ilities against Tippoo Sultaun. In two campaigns the war ended by a sacrifice on the part of Tippoo Sultaun of one half of his dominions, and of one half of his treasures, which were divided among the Company, and her allies the Mahrattas, and the Nizam.

In 1799, in Lord Wellesley's administration, Tippoo Sultaun was again the aggressor, and we heard of the capture of Seringapatam, and of his death, within a few months after we were informed of the commencement of the war.

Whether the abstract proposition moved by Lord Melville, and carried in the House of Commons, can apply to this case, any man of common understanding can determine. What was Lord Melville to do? He was not the author either of the first or the second war with Tippoo Sultaun. Was he, under the spirit of the resolution moved by himself, to send orders to India for restoring to the sons of Tippoo Sultaun the dominions of their father? The idea is too absurd. The father had been in close alliance with France, and the conquest of Mysore was of the utmost importance. In 1801 Lord Melville resigned, and it was subsequent to his resignation that the subsidiary treaties were formed, and the Mahratta war was commenced and concluded. Whether those measures were right or wrong, it is clear that Lord Melville had no concern or responsibility in them.

In contradiction to his own opinion of the un-

necessary expense of the civil and military establishments prior to 1784, the fact is certain, that during his administration he increased considerably both the one and the other. He sent three British regiments to India in 1787, in a period of profound peace, against the strong remonstrances of the Court of Directors, who applied to Parliament on the occasion, though in vain. He afterwards increased His Majesty's force in India, which brought forward an application from the Company's officers for an equality of rank with the King's army in India. This application, founded in justice, was properly attended to, though at a most enormous additional expense. Formerly a battalion of Sepoys was commanded by an officer with the rank of captain only, with a subaltern at the head of each company: but when the service was new-modelled, the battalions were converted into regiments of two battalions each. Every regiment had a colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, and a certain number of captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, in order that promotion and rank might be on a par with the rank and promotion in the King's regiments. We do not mention this change as being in any degree wrong, but as increasing, which it certainly did, the expenses in India in peace, and very considerably indeed increasing them in war.

When Lord Clive gained the battle of Plassy in

1757, he was a lieutenant-colonel, with only one major in his army, no other field officer.

Sir Hector Monro, in 1764, when he gained the battle of Buxar, was a major, and he had but one field officer in his army.

But when our standing army in India after 1784, in peace, was composed of King's and Company's troops, it became absolutely necessary to put them on a similar establishment as to rank.

For all these changes, which have so increased the expenses of India, men who have not considered the subject like the two writers on the exclusive commerce of the East India Company, blame the Court of Directors, who in fact were deprived both of power and responsibility by the Acts of 1784 and 1793, except in points purely commercial.

With a view of rendering the Company unpopular, it has been invidiously and unjustly remarked, that the people of England are forced to pay the dividends of the proprietors, though the distresses of the Company have been occasioned by the mismanagement of the Court of Directors.

We trust that we have fully proved the injustice of such a charge. In one point, and in one only, can a difference of opinion arise as to the conduct of the Directors, and if is on this, whether, when the Company could not sell their Bengal goods, they ought to have purchased an an-

annual investment with borrowed money, which was undoubtedly trading to a loss? Before a man be competent to answer this question, he ought to know the nature of the Company's investment, that it is not made by the purchase of goods in a market, but by money advanced from time to time at the auruings, which in fact returns again to the public treasury. If the present war should continue fourteen years longer, or to the end of the Company's charter, and if we should be excluded, as we now are, from the continent of Europe, probably it would be better for the Company to sell their investment in Bengal to the Americans.

The war has precisely the same effect on the sale of West India as upon East India produce. Why should the Company be singled out as a delinquent, when in fact she suffers from a calamity which equally affects all public bodies and individuals of every rank?

From what has been stated as the constitution of the East India Company since 1784, it must be clear to every impartial reader, that the Court of Directors are not in any degree responsible for the public disappointment; and that the cause of that disappointment is most evident; not a failure in the annual revenues of India, which in fact have been progressively increasing since 1784, but the increased expenses of India, which in 1805-6

amounted by estimate to nearly the enormous sum of seventeen millions sterling.

We have proved that the power of regulating the expenses of India, or the amount of the military force necessary to preserve it, did not depend upon the Court of Directors.

Measures necessary for securing the permanence of the British empire in India, and future advantages, might be highly prejudicial to the immediate interests of the East India Company; and the case has actually happened. With all the economy that can be practised now, no one will say, that, while the present charter continues, the Company can benefit by the addition of five millions to the resources of India, when it is considered that the debt of India is twenty millions higher than it was previous to that acquisition.

If the Court of Directors were the governing power, it might with great justice be said, that they had lost a substance by grasping at a shadow; but they were not the governing power; the law even compelled them to sign orders which they disapproved, and in many cases it has happened, that they did sign such orders.

The King's India Ministers were to look beyond the period of the Company's charter; to consider how India could be best held and governed for the honour and advantage of this nation, and the welfare of the natives of that country. To

these Ministers was therefore given the power of forming the civil and military establishments, of disposing of the revenues, and of sending such orders and instructions to the respective governments abroad, as they might think proper. The Directors, it is true, were the channel through which the orders were sent; they wrote the letters, but the Board of Commissioners approved or altered, or totally changed every paragraph, as they thought proper. Such has been the law since 1784.

It has been said of Lord Melville, that no one of his predictions as to India has been verified; that of the annual half million which was to be paid by the Company to the British nation since 1793, only one year's payment has been made; that the guarantee fund does not exist; that the debt of India is now twenty millions higher than it was in 1793; and that the Company's affairs at home are much more embarrassed than they were in 1793. These are facts which must be admitted; yet the causes which have produced the failure are obvious—an expense in India and at home both greatly exceeding Lord Melville's calculation, and a diminution of the Company's sales in England. For the increased expenses of freight, &c. and the diminution of the Company's sales at home, Lord Melville cannot be responsible, because both were occasioned by the war in Europe.



For the increased expenses in India between 1784 and 1801, he is clearly responsible, and has always avowed his responsibility; and from 1801 to the present time, the responsibility rests with his successors, not, most assuredly, with the Court of Directors.

If it should be deemed necessary to prove, what must be evident to those who have at all considered the subject, that the temporary embarrassments of the Company in India are caused by the increased expenses of India, we have only to refer to the authentic documents delivered to the House of Commons in 1793. By these it appears that the whole revenues of India on an average of three years, from 1787 to 1790, were something less each year than seven millions sterling; that the expenses of every kind were nearly five millions three hundred thousand pounds each year, leaving a surplus of £1,614,013, subject only to the payment of the interest of the India debt, which at that time was little more than nine millions; so that the clear available surplus was one million fifty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty-seven pounds. In this calculation, founded on actual accounts, Lord Melville did not take credit for a revenue of four hundred thousand pounds a year, acquired by the surrender of a sixth part of Tip-poo Sultaun's dominions; and what he asserted is perfectly true, that he estimated the receipts far

below their actual amount. Why is it therefore that not one of Lord Melville's predictions has been verified by the event? For an obvious reason: because, subsequent to 1793, the expenses of India have been progressively increasing from five millions three hundred thousand pounds a year, until by estimate for 1805-6 they would amount to nearly seventeen millions sterling. The expenses at home have also been increased since 1793, at the same time that the sales have been diminished. But no possible blame can rest with the Court of Directors, either for the increase of expense, or the diminished sales. Both have resulted from war, and from no other cause. The embarrassments in India do not proceed from diminished revenues, but solely from increased expenses since 1790; for it is a fact, that since 1790 our resources have been *doubled*, and our expenses *trebled*.

In 1790, the expenses were five millions three hundred thousand pounds. We had at that time a very large military force in India, both European and native. Now let us suppose, that in consequence of our acquisitions since 1790, and our subsidiary treaties, we were to add three millions seven hundred thousand pounds to the expenses of 1790, which to the writer appears a most ample allowance indeed, then the expenses of India would be nine millions, leaving a surplus of five millions three hundred thousand pounds, from

the annual resources of India. This surplus would be applied in the first instance to the payment of the interest on a debt of thirty millions, which is two millions four hundred thousand pounds; and then there would be a clear available surplus of two millions nine hundred thousand pounds, for the purchase of an investment, and the gradual liquidation of the debt.

In 1774, when Sir Philip Francis arrived in India, the expenses were less than three millions sterling a year in India in peace.

In 1790, when Lord Cornwallis was Governor General, they were increased to five millions three hundred thousand pounds sterling, owing to the increase of our military establishments in peace.

In 1805-6, our expenses were increased to nearly seventeen millions by estimate, but the writer has shewn clearly that this was a war estimate. The question will be, at what amount can the King's Ministers prudently fix the expenses of India in peace? For we affirm, that a continuance of the war in Europe cannot affect India now. On the contrary, a restoration of peace in Europe would naturally give to France a certain degree of power in India. The great object of the King's Ministers therefore ought to be to reduce the expenses of India, civil and military, to nine millions sterling. We are convinced, that if the power were lodged with the

Court of Directors, they would accomplish this desirable object.

Why should the armies in India be more numerous now than they were in 1790, when Marquis Cornwallis was Governor General and Commander in Chief? There is no one reason why they should, except as applied to the regiments which we are bound to keep up for the service of the Peshwa, the Nizam, and the Nabob of Oude; and for those regiments we receive subsidies. Three millions seven hundred thousand pounds therefore is an extravagant allowance for the additional civil and military expenses, in consequence of our acquisitions since 1790. We will not offer our opinion as to the justice of certain acts of Marquis Wellesley, which are now under the consideration of Parliament; but of the policy, of the beneficial effects to this nation resulting from those acts, we may be allowed to speak. We are now the actual sovereign of the Carnatic and of Tanjore. For the last forty years the defence of those kingdoms was entrusted to our arms, while the government was in other hands. The Company's records are filled with complaints of the Nabob, but on the other hand he remonstrated against the conduct of the Company's servants. He had agents in England; he borrowed money from every British subject who had money to lend; and there are now claims under the examination of Commissioners, to the amount of eight millions sterling, as owing by the old

Nabob Wallajah and his son, principally to British subjects. The Carnatic was most oppressively governed, and the nature of his government is fully and clearly detailed by Lord Buckinghamshire, in a Minute which is now before the House of Commons. In 1801, Marquis Wellesley assumed the sovereignty of the Carnatic on the part of the East India Company; and the Nabob, though retaining his rank and title, became in fact what the Nabobs of Bengal have been since 1765, a pensioner without political power. The beneficial effects of this change have already been felt by a considerable increase in the revenues of the Carnatic, and by the security which the inhabitants enjoy in their persons, and their property. The Directors and the Board of Commissioners lost no time in expressing their approbation of Lord Wellesley's conduct in assuming the government of the Carnatic. Mr. Sheridan in 1802 brought this subject before Parliament; and though Parliament since that period has been three times dissolved, the House has come to no decision on this important subject. Of this delay, all parties interested in the decision of the question have great reason to complain. But we do not hesitate to affirm, that by the entire conquest of Mysore, and by our acquisition of the Carnatic, the future tranquillity of these valuable countries is effectually secured.

In Oude, Marquis Wellesley has obtained a cession of such a proportion of the Nabob's do-

minions as produces an annual revenue of a million and a half sterling, in commutation of a pecuniary subsidy heretofore paid by the Nabob for the service of our troops, by which his kingdom was defended. This subject is likewise before the House of Commons. This alteration also has been most beneficial both for the Company, and the natives. In a military point of view the change is of the utmost importance. We are bound by treaty to defend and protect Oude, which is in fact the northern frontier of Bengal. We are now the sovereign of the most exposed and lawless parts of that extensive kingdom, and under our administration those countries will be effectually secured from invasion, and the turbulent Zemindars reduced to submission. The Nabob's authority in those countries was little more than nominal, and the revenues which he drew from them were nearly absorbed by the expenses of preserving them.

Taking therefore a fair view of the present state of India, we do not hesitate to affirm, that, with the exception of the troops which we keep up for the service of the Peshwa and the Nizam, an army equal to that which we had in India in 1790 is in fact fully sufficient, if not more than sufficient, for the present day, and consequently that an addition of three millions seven hundred thousand pounds to the expenses of 1790 will be amply sufficient, if not extravagantly large.

The author of "Considerations on the Trade with India," has endeavoured to establish three propositions :

1st, That the embarrassments of the Company have been occasioned by the mismanagement of the Court of Directors.

2dly, That the government of India should be transferred to the Crown.

3dly, That it would be to the advantage of the British nation that the trade with India should be open to all His Majesty's subjects.

We affirm, that since the year 1784 the whole government of India has been transferred from the Court of Directors to the Crown ; that if there has been mismanagement, no possible blame can attach upon the East India Company : if, on the contrary, India has been well governed, and its resources advantageously employed, the India Ministers appointed by the Crown are entitled to the whole merit, except in instances where the Governor General has acted from his own authority on emergencies ; and no instance of that kind has happened in which the Governor General's conduct has not been fully approved by His Majesty's India Ministers.

This author states, with truth, that the plan of 1793 has failed. He terms it a "bubble," meaning, as we suppose, that when the plan was proposed Lord Melville knew it to be a "bubble." But in the progress of his publication it must be

obvious, that he means his readers should understand it as a "bubble" upon the public, brought forward by the Court of Directors.

This plan was proposed to Parliament by Lord Melville. Its execution depended upon the amount of the revenues of India for each year; the amount of each year's expenses, including the interest of the debt of India; and the surplus that would remain at the expiration of each year. Have the revenues failed? No. They are doubled since the year 1793. Have the expenses increased? Yes. They are *trebled* since 1793. Hence, therefore, it is, that a surplus of more than one million, which did actually exist in 1793 in India, no longer does exist; and the debt which in 1793 was nine millions, is now thirty.

Some enlightened men predicted, in 1793, that the war which had then commenced would cause a complete revolution in Europe; but a very great majority in the nation, amongst whom was Lord Melville, conceived that its duration would be short, and that, by a speedy peace, we should procure indemnity for the past, and security for the future: but even Lord Melville expressly stated, that a continuance of war in Europe would materially affect the Company's sales and expenses in England, and would in a certain degree increase the expenses in India. Without this information, the common sense of every man must have convinced him, that calculations made on an idea of



peace in Europe and in India, could not apply to a state of war in both quarters of the globe.

In 1793 Lord Melville had been eight years the Minister of India. He had fixed the amount of the civil and military establishments of India. The expense was five millions three hundred thousand pounds. The whole debt was nine millions and a fraction; and, after allowing for the interest of the debt, there remained a clear surplus of revenue beyond expenditure, of more than one million sterling.

The Directors had not the power to increase the expenses of India a single shilling. If then there was a "bubble," it was Lord Melville who "bubbled" Parliament and the nation. Without his orders the expenses of India could not have been increased, unless the Governor General, from a sudden emergency, increased the strength of the native army in India, for which he would be personally responsible to the Crown and to Parliament.

In the style of a parliamentary declaimer this author says, that men of high rank in India would treat the orders of the Directors with a contempt which they would not dare to shew to the Crown, if India was transferred to His Majesty, and a Governor General was converted into a Viceroy.

Need we inform this author, that India was transferred to the Crown fully and completely by the Acts of 1784 and 1793? It is governed by

Ministers appointed by the Crown, who are fully responsible to Parliament for their conduct. The Governor General and the Governors of India are bound by law to obey all orders which they receive from the Court of Directors, who cannot send one order to India without the sanction of His Majesty's India Ministers. A Governor General is responsible to the Crown and to Parliament in every case in which he disobeys an order; and, as at so great a distance he must often, from necessity, act without waiting for orders, he is responsible in the same degree both to the Crown and Parliament. There is but one distinction between the law as it now stands, and the plan proposed by Mr. Fox. The present law vests complete power and responsibility in the hands of Ministers appointed by the Crown, but has reserved to the Company a considerable degree of patronage.

By Mr. Fox's plan the whole patronage at home and abroad was given to five Commissioners appointed by Parliament. After attributing to the Directors an authority of which the law has deprived them, this writer proceeds thus: "We find wars begun and ended, without the least knowledge, concurrence, approbation, or censure of Parliament."

The fact is precisely the reverse. There have been three wars with native powers in India since 1784. The first was commenced by Marquis

Cornwallis on his own responsibility.\* The justice and policy of that war were questioned in both Houses of Parliament. After long discussions, both Houses voted, by a large majority, that the war was founded in justice and policy, and the thanks of the two Houses were voted to Marquis Cornwallis.

The second Mysore war, undertaken by Marquis Wellesley on his own responsibility, was conceived by Parliament to be so clearly founded in policy and justice, that thanks were unanimously voted to Lord Wellesley, by both Houses, without a dissenting voice.

The third was the Mahratta war, the justice and policy of which was questioned in Parliament in the years 1803, 1804, and 1805 : but from the latter period the subject has not been agitated. The King's Ministers approved of the measures which led to the war, of course they could not condemn it in Parliament. If the war were not founded in justice and in policy, those Ministers are responsible for the approbation which they gave to it. The thanks of both Houses were given to Marquis Wellesley for the vigour and abilities which he displayed in the conduct of that war; but as some members wished for further information, both as to the origin and policy of the war, the motion for thanks was so guarded, that that question is still open for investigation in Par-

liament. Marquis Wellesley has not shrunk from inquiry : his nearest connexions in Parliament have merely pressed for a decision.

Against the Directors who are in Parliament the author of the " Considerations " has preferred a most unfounded charge. He says, that they have *connived* at the charges brought against Lord Wellesley, without boldly stating their accusations or complaints. This is so far from being a correct statement, that, when the Marhatta war was mentioned in Parliament, three Directors did express their disapprobation of that war, and a fourth Director expressed his complete approbation of it. The Directors wrote a letter to the Government of Bengal, in which their sentiments on the Marhatta war are fully detailed. The King's India Ministers held different opinions, and consequently, under the existing law, that letter could not be sent to Bengal ; a proof that both the power and the responsibility are complete in the India Ministers appointed by the Crown. The letter has since been printed. But upon what principle is it that the Directors ought to bring an accusation, or any complaint, against Marquis Wellesley before the House of Commons ? If an accusation should be preferred against him, and an impeachment moved, no Director who is in Parliament is bound, in consistency, to vote for the question. Neither the Directors, nor any individual in England, has supposed that Marquis

Wellesley acted from a corrupt motive, in commencing the Mahratta war; and Sir Philip Francis, who strongly condemned the policy of the war, expressly disclaimed all intention of preferring a criminal charge against Lord Wellesley for having commenced it.

Let us fairly state, in opposition to the author of the Considerations, what was the result of the management of the Court of Directors for nineteen years that they really did possess the power and the responsibility of which they were deprived in 1784. In 1765, Lord Clive acquired Bengal for the East India Company. From 1765 to 1784, not a dollar was exported by the Company to India, but bullion to a very great amount was brought into Great Britain from India. Investments were purchased, and supplies sent to China from the surplus revenues of Bengal. The American war, was followed by a war with France, and from 1778 to 1784 our Government in India had to contend with the Mahrattas, Hyder Ally Cawn, and a French army under the Marquis de Bussy. No assistance was sent from England in money, and in one year bills were drawn upon the Directors for the amount of the investments sent from Bengal in that year. On the restoration of peace in Europe and in India, the debt of India was seven millions sterling\* ; but the revenues of Bengal were so much improved during the war,

\* Mr. Huddleston's Speech, 1806.

that the interest of that debt would not have been felt, had the expenses of India been reduced to the scale at which they stood in 1776, prior to the war.

Such was the actual state of India in 1784, when the power of disposing of the future resources and of fixing the future establishments of India was taken from the Court of Directors by law, and placed in the hands of Commissioners appointed by the Crown. Was the operation of the law unknown? Was it not directly and unequivocally stated in Parliament, that the responsibility of the Court of Directors for the government of India had ceased? In what instance could there be a division of authority? How can it be said, in the words of the author of the Considerations, "that two authorities were established," or "that there is no sufficient responsibility in law or in opinion for the government of India?" It is impossible for human wisdom to devise a plan, by which a Governor General of India can be made more responsible to the Crown and to Parliament, that he has been since the year 1784. A Governor General, when acting under the immediate authority of the Court of Directors, did not escape responsibility, as appears by an impeachment of ten years, to which Mr. Hastings was subject. Three Parliaments have been dissolved, since the justice of certain acts of Marquis Wellesley has been questioned. It is in every respect proper that Parliament should exercise its inquisitorial power over

every part of the British empire ; but to delay a decision, is injustice to an individual, and mischievous to the public.

In 1784, His Majesty's India Ministers commenced their administration with a debt of seven millions sterling charged upon the revenues of India. It is not the fact, that the increase of that debt to thirty millions has been owing to the three wars in India since 1784. Without having the materials before us, from which we could be accurate, we may venture to say, that those three wars have not put the Company to an extra expense of ten millions sterling. The great expense has been in the increase of establishments in India in peace, beyond the peace establishment of 1776, and for that increase the King's Ministers are alone responsible. Nor is this all. Much of the debt of 1784, then seven millions, has been paid off, by transferring it to England. A great sum in bullion has been sent to India since 1784, whereas not a single dollar was sent by the Company to India from 1765 to the year 1784. These are facts which it is necessary to mention, when the Court of Directors are so wantonly and unjustly attacked. We do not believe that the King's India Ministers were actuated by corrupt motives, in increasing the army in 1785, nor in still further increasing it from that time to the present ; but the truth is, that the increase of expenses has exceeded the increase of resources ; and hence it is, that

the debt of India is thirty millions, and that in 1806-7, in peace, instead of a surplus, we have a deficit of at least a million sterling.

The author of "Considerations" says, on the authority of Lord Castlereagh, that eight millions of the present debt of India was caused by the purchase of investments, which he deprecates as highly impolitic, because the trade from India was a losing trade to the Company. We do not doubt the fact, as to eight millions of the debt being contracted for investments; but in the year 1800, Lord Melville, for reasons which appear to us to be unanswerable, conceived it would be wise to continue the investment, though purchased by money borrowed at a high interest. Lord Castlereagh was of the same opinion in 1803, when the debt was still further increased. It becomes a new question now, as there are so many millions of goods unsold in England; but it is a question not for the Directors, but for the King's India Ministers to decide.

This author says, that a debt of thirty millions in India, where the revenue is so high as fifteen millions, would with good management be very trifling. The Court of Directors, however, conceive it to be an evil of a most alarming magnitude, and we entirely agree with them. What is the revenue of India? It is, correctly speaking, the surplus, after paying all expenses and the interest of the debt. Suppose the revenues were



one hundred millions a year, and the expenses exceeded that sum, of what use would the revenues be to the Company or to the nation? A rational man would laugh at an exhibition of the flourishing state of the revenues of India, unless it was proved to him, that they exceeded the expenditure of India. What does this author mean by good management? Who has managed the resources of India since 1784? Who fixed the establishments? The King's India Ministers. Who would have directed both from 1784 to this day, had the Company been annihilated in 1784? The very same Ministers. It is therefore folly, or worse than folly, to implicate the Court of Directors in the good or ill management of India since 1784.

The true state of the case is this: That the King's India Ministers assumed the government of India when the debt in India was seven millions; that debt was trifling or important on a comparison of the expenses with the revenues of each year. It does not follow that there has been bad management, because the debt in India is now thirty millions. It must be proved that they originally fixed the establishments higher than was necessary for the security of India; that there was no change in the internal situation of India, which made it necessary to increase the peace establishments of 1776; that the increase subsequent to 1784, which has been very considerable indeed, was not necessary. But if, after the most mature investigation,

it should appear, that there has been bad management, it will be impossible to join in the conclusion of the author of "Considerations on the Trade with India," that the Court of Directors are to blame. The great object which this author has in view is to raise a clamour in the public against the East India Company. To effect his point he misrepresents the constitution of the Company. He tells us, that had the Crown held supreme power in India, and had the trade been open to all British subjects, our situation would have been very different in India; that even now, with good management, a debt of thirty millions will be of trifling importance.

The accounts of the revenues and expenses of India are now before the public to the latest possible period. We know what they were exactly in 1805-6. We know what the amount of the debt was on the 1st of April 1806, as well as the amount of the floating debt at that period. Both together are nearly thirty millions. We have also an estimate of the expenses from the 1st of April 1806 to the 1st of April 1807; and as in former years these estimates have been uncommonly accurate, we may conclude that this estimate is accurate. The revenues are stated at fifteen millions one hundred and eighty thousand pounds, the expenses at nearly fourteen millions five hundred thousand pounds; so that the surplus revenue is not seven hundred thousand pounds. But to

the expenses we are to add the interest of the debt of India, the supplies to China, Prince of Wales's Island, and Bencoolen, and the advances for an investment. To answer these demands there is a surplus revenue of seven hundred thousand pounds, and the sale of the cargoes from England : the deficiency therefore must be supplied by a loan. There is some difference of opinion between Mr. Creevy, the late Secretary to the India Ministers, and Mr. Dundas, the present Minister, as to what the amount of the deficiency may be. But unless the expenses of India for 1806-7 are less than the estimate, we conceive that the debt on the 1st of April 1807 will be a million higher than it was on the 1st of April 1806.

When the author of "Considerations" speaks of the debt with good management being of trifling importance, we presume he means that the revenues may be further increased, or the expenses diminished. To increase the revenues materially is impossible, unless we extend our conquests; and if we did, we must increase our expenditure also. To diminish the expenses, we must confide in His Majesty's India Ministers, who have the power by law to diminish them in as full and as complete a manner as they could do, if India belonged absolutely to the Crown. The Directors may advise, but they cannot command. There are gentlemen in the Direction fully competent to go through every branch of the public expenditure in India,

and to point out what reductions can be made with security. There are two India Ministers, who, to our knowledge, are competent to the task also—Lord Teignmouth and Mr. George Johnstone. But the decision must ultimately rest with the India Minister.

On looking over the estimate for 1806-7, we find that in Bengal there will be a surplus revenue of two millions two hundred and twenty thousand pounds. Sir George Barlow had reduced the expenses of Bengal nearly one million sterling a year.

At Madras the revenues are above five millions five hundred thousand pounds, but the expenses will exceed the revenues by three hundred thousand pounds. The difference at Madras is very trifling indeed between the actual expenses of 1805-6, and the estimate for 1806-7.

At Bombay the revenues are seven hundred thousand pounds, and the expenses for 1806-7 will exceed the revenues above a million sterling.

The Madras expenses alone are higher by four hundred thousand pounds than the expenses of all India in 1793. The expense of the army alone for 1806-7 is higher by two millions seven hundred thousand pounds than the whole expenses of India in 1793.

To suppose that any good management could reduce the expenses of India to five millions three hundred thousand pounds would be absurd, be-

cause our army must be necessarily larger than it was in 1793, and the ceded and conquered countries are not yet regulated as Bengal is, which we have governed for above forty years. The conquered countries dependant on Bengal are estimated to produce a revenue of a million sterling in 1806-7. The expenses of collecting it are estimated at above eight hundred thousand pounds, which is at least double, if not treble the sum that will be expended in collecting the revenues in future years.

No reduction can be made either in the salaries of the civil servants or in the pay and allowances of the army ; but we are convinced some millions may be saved by other reforms. Were the expenses of India brought to ten millions, there would be a surplus of more than three millions, after paying the interest of the debt.

Party writers censure without examination, merely to suit party purposes. The opponents of Lord McIlvaine tell us that he has not performed a single promise that he made in 1793. The author of " Considerations " goes further still : he calls the plan of 1793 a bubble, a delusion ; omitting to state, that the express condition of the promise was, that there should be peace in Europe, and peace in India.

Another party imputes all our embarrassments in India to the unbounded extravagance, as they term it, of Marquis Wellesley's administration,

and to the wars in which he involved the nation in India.

The author of "Considerations on the Trade with India" imputes the embarrassments of the Company to the mismanagement of the Court of Directors, and a defective constitution for the government of India. He has recommended a plan by which every evil is to be redressed. Annihilate the East India Company, because by its misconduct it has forfeited its charter. Vest India completely in the Crown, lay the trade open to British subjects, and then with good management a debt of thirty millions in India will be of trifling importance. Give the Governor General the title of Viceroy, and then he will not dare to disobey orders, or to act without orders in future. Parliament will then exercise its inquisitorial power. By this plan the affairs of the British nation in India will be effectually retrieved.

We have fully proved that the change which this author proposes would not in any degree strengthen the authority which the Crown already possesses in India, nor would it add to the responsibility of the Ministers of the Crown, or of the Governor General. Whether it would be advantageous to the nation to open the trade to India was a question much agitated in 1793, and every argument now urged in favour of an open trade was then used. Unless Parliament, when the Charter expires, shall be of a different opinion

from that which it held in 1793, the Charter will again be renewed, because, under the law now existing, there could have been no 'mismanagement on the part of the Court of Directors.

The author of the "Considerations" complains of the intricacy of the accounts presented by the Company to Parliament; "they are involved," he says, "in fog, through which a common man cannot see." Without knowing beyond the first rules of arithmetic, we find them perfectly intelligible; and if this author would pass by all the voluminous accounts presented, and look merely to the result of the whole, the fact would be clear to him. Lord Melville had the merit of presenting accounts annually to Parliament, so clearly drawn out, that even an infant might understand the balance sheet. The surplus revenue is the sum that remains after every demand has been paid; namely, the interest of the debt, the charges or expenses, the supplies sent to Prince of Wales's Island, Bencoolen, and St. Helena. The surplus remaining in 1793 was above one million sterling. The deficit that will remain this year may possibly be one million sterling; two millions, as Mr. Creevy thinks.

An account was moved for in Parliament, by Lord Castlereagh, in 1804, which appears to have misled the author of the "Considerations." By that account, which was accurate, it appeared, that for ten years, from 1792 to 1802, the re-

venues of India had exceeded the charges above eleven millions. But the charges meant only the expenses, not the supplies sent annually to Prince of Wales's Island, Bencoolen, and St. Helena, nor the interest of the debt. Lord Castlereagh's object in moving for such an account was, to shew that, even in war, the actual revenues of India had so far exceeded the charges of India, which are the expenses civil and military, and the expense of collecting the revenue. But in Lord Melville's calculation, in 1793, and in his annual budgets, he included every demand on the Government in India, not merely what are called the charges, and then gave the amount of each year's surplus.

The simple result of all the accounts is this. That since 1793 a debt of twenty-one millions has been contracted in India, and instead of a surplus of one million, which then actually existed, there will in this year be a deficit of one million.

Has this accumulation of debt, or the change from a surplus to a deficit, been occasioned by the Court of Directors, the King's India Ministers, or the unauthorized acts of the Governments in India? Most assuredly not by the Directors, because since 1784 they have had no political power: they had no control over the expenses or the establishments of India.

In 1795 the debt of India was reduced to less than seven millions. In 1798, when Marquis



Wellesley succeeded to the government, it was increased to eleven millions; and from that period it has been annually increased, because, from the addition to expenses since 1793, and the wars in India, the revenues, though more than equal to the expenses of India, were not equal to the discharge of the interest of the debt, the supplies to China, &c. and to the purchase of an investment, without an annual loan. Bengal has hitherto been the only valuable part of our possessions in India: at all times there has been a surplus revenue in Bengal. It is indeed extraordinary, that with a revenue of five millions five hundred thousand pounds at Madras, with Mysore and the Carnatic under our government, and the Nizam in alliance with us—still Madras does not pay its own expenses. Bombay drains Bengal of more than a million a year. It is obvious therefore, that, hitherto, the extension of our empire in India, and the increase of our revenues since 1793, have been very injurious indeed to the East India Company.

The Legislature has declared, that “to pursue schemes of conquest and extent of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation.”

Sir Philip Francis proposed, in 1805, that Parliament should call the attention of the Governments in India to the law, because, since the Act had passed, the Carnatic, Tanjore, and Mysore, had been added to our dominions on the Coast of

Coromandel, a considerable part of Oude had been ceded to us by the Nabob of Oude in commutation of a subsidy in money; we had conquered extensive districts in the north of India, which, together with the province of Cuttack, were ceded to us in perpetuity by the peace with Sindia and the Rajah of Berar. Four of the Directors who were in Parliament concurred in voting for this resolution, but the majority of the House voted for the order of the day. Mr. Pitt contended, that in wars of aggression on the part of our enemies, we were not precluded from securing future tranquillity by the extension of our empire in India, and the distinction is a just one; but the *policy* of such an extension, even where the aggression was apparent, though considerably enlarged upon by Sir Philip Francis, and by one of the Directors who spoke during the debate, was not replied to.

The Company most assuredly feels, that hitherto the extension of our empire in India has involved them in very great difficulties, though ultimately His Majesty's India Ministers may so arrange the establishments in India as to enable them to retrieve their affairs.

The Court of Directors have conscientiously discharged their duty; but, from the year 1784, though the law left them the privilege of advising, it deprived them of the power to command. On various occasions they have differed

in opinion with His Majesty's India Ministers, and in two instances the subject of their difference has been discussed in Parliament, namely, the payment of the debts due to the private creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, and the increase of the military establishment in 1787. With respect to the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, there has been a very great difference of opinion indeed between the King's India Ministers and the Court of Directors. The latter disapproved of the late agreement with the Nabob of Oude, not because it was a disadvantageous bargain for the East India Company, but because they deemed it to be an infraction of an existing treaty. The former fully approved of that treaty. The Court of Directors disapproved of the treaty of Bassein, the original cause of the Mahratta war. The King's India Ministers approved of it. The Directors pointed out various instances in which Marquis Wellesley had increased the civil expenses of the Company without authority. The King's India Ministers deferred the consideration of particulars to a future period. Both in and out of Parliament the Directors have been most unjustly censured for a dereliction of their duty. The author of "Considerations on the Trade with India" says, that they ought boldly to have brought their complaints and accusations before Parliament. Upon what principle ought they to have done so? Lord Wellesley was succeeded in the government of

Bengal by Marquis Cornwallis, and it by no means followed that the Court of Directors as a body, or that the Directors who were in Parliament, were bound to support those Members who wished to impeach Marquis Wellesley on a charge of high crimes and misdemeanors. The Directors had a right, by law, to form a letter to the Government of Bengal, and to animadvert, in any terms they pleased, on the public conduct of Marquis Wellesley: the King's India Ministers had a right, by law, to approve of the letter, or to disapprove it in toto, or to alter it in any manner they thought proper; and the Directors were bound, by law, to transmit the letter so altered to India. One gentleman observed in the House, that the Directors ought not to have signed a letter which they did not approve. Another gentleman said, that the law had instituted a double government for India. What is the fact? The responsibility for the good government of India is positively vested in Ministers appointed by the Crown: that responsibility has repeatedly been avowed both by Lord Melville and Lord Castlereagh, the successive India Ministers. It is consonant to reason and to justice, that decision and responsibility should go together. The Directors perform their duty in delivering their sentiments, and afterwards in supporting the justice of those sentiments, but if their remonstrance produces no change in the opinion of His Majesty's Ministers, the Directors

can take no further step, unless they were to petition Parliament for the repeal of the present law.

What was the origin of the present law? An opinion taken up by all parties in Parliament, in 1783, that the Directors were not competent to govern a great empire: no double government was established. Had the Charter of the Company been torn and destroyed in 1784, the responsibility of the King's India Ministers to Parliament could not possibly have been greater than it was made by the Acts of 1784 and 1793. Equally strong is the responsibility of a Governor General, for every instance in which he disobeys orders, or acts from himself. Neither the King's India Ministers, nor Marquis Wellesley, have attempted to shrink from responsibility. Every letter, and every order, transmitted to India since 1784, relative to peace, war, or treaties, to revenues or establishments, is, with respect to responsibility, the act of His Majesty's India Ministers. The letter of the Court of Directors, dated the 3d of April 1805, never was sent to India, because it did not contain the sentiments of the King's India Ministers. It can only, therefore, be considered as conveying the sentiments of twenty-three Directors on the public conduct of Marquis Wellesley. Very different indeed are the sentiments of the gentlemen who signed that letter, and the King's India Ministers; but does

the difference of opinion involve either party criminally? The Directors conceive, that to extend the British empire, as it is now extended, was contrary to the policy prescribed by the Legislature, and that it was contrary to the interests of the Company they have proved by the evidence of figures.

The King's India Ministers inform the Directors, that they dissent from the construction which they have put upon the act of the Legislature; and that in their letter they have injuriously and unjustly, as the King's India Ministers conceive, reflected upon the British councils in India for a series of years past.

The reply of the Directors does them great credit; but as it produced no change in the sentiments of His Majesty's India Ministers, the letter to Bengal, which the King's India Ministers had written, was signed by the Directors, and dispatched to Bengal.

We well remember, that in 1782, when Lord Melville proposed that resolution to Parliament on which the clause quoted by the Directors is founded, the idea generally prevailing was this, that any extension of the British empire in India would be contrary to sound policy. The resolution was voted, and the clause inserted in the Act of 1784, because it was conceived that there had been an attempt to extend the British empire in India during the administration of Mr. Hastings.

and Lord Melville expressed a hope that no Governor General in India would in future aspire to rival Tamerlane or Aurangzebe. Now what is the declared opinion of the Court of Directors in their reply to the letter of the King's India Ministers? That Lord Wellesley "embarked unnecessarily, " as they think, on these extensive plans of foreign policy, inevitably leading to war, which, " whatever power of political combination they " discovered, and though followed up, as they " have been, by very brilliant exploits, have yet, " in the opinion of the Court, been productive of " many serious evils; have removed, further than " ever, the prospect of reducing the debt and " expenses of the Company; and have exchanged " the secure state and respected character of the " British power for an uncertain supremacy, and " it is to be feared the disaffection of all the states " of India." The King's India Ministers, and Mr. Pitt also, held very different opinions; and, after all, time alone can discover whether the extension of our empire in India was a wise measure or not. No doubt can be entertained as to its having occasioned temporary evils, by an increase of expense beyond the increase of revenue. We contend that the Court of Directors are not a party in the inquiry now pending in Parliament relative to Marquis Wellesley's conduct, nor are those of that body who are members of the House of Commons seated there as representatives of the,

East India Company ; consequently, though they may still retain the same sentiments which they held on the 3d of April 1805, they are not bound to join in a vote to impeach Lord Wellesley, if such a vote should ever be proposed. But the Directors are not infallible ; they do not assume to be so. They merely gave an opinion which they had a right to give, and even that opinion was never communicated to Marquis Wellesley, though they meant that it should when they sent their letter for the approval of the King's India Ministers. Had the letter been sent to Bengal, that and Marquis Wellesley's reply would have been public documents.

It is folly in the extreme to assert, that Parliament has been purposely kept in ignorance of the actual state of India since the year 1784. Not only was the attention of the House of Commons drawn annually to the subject by Lord Melville, but Sir Philip Francis and other members have occasionally brought motions before the House relative to the state of India. What has been the complaint of Sir Philip Francis ? That, although it was a subject of the highest importance, the House was very thinly attended when an India question was before it ; that an indifference, almost amounting to disgust, was apparent on every India debate. What remedy could be applied to the evil of which Sir Philip Francis complains ? No blame, at all events, can attach upon the



Court of Directors, nor upon His Majesty's India Ministers, on this account.

In assuming the sovereignty of the Carnatic, Mr. Sheridan has said, that the Governments of Bengal and Madras, and the King's India Ministers, were criminal, but that the Court of Directors were the *most criminal*. We were led to believe, therefore, that the Directors had concurred with His Majesty's India Ministers in approving that transaction. But we now find, that the act of the assumption was not transmitted to the Court of Directors, but to the Secret Committee, or, in other words, to the King's India Ministers; and to them also all the documents were sent, on which Marquis Wellesley formed his opinion, that the Nabob of the Carnatic had, by his treachery, forfeited his right to the Carnatic. Lord Castlereagh thought so too, approved what had been done, and has avowed in Parliament the responsibility he had incurred by that approbation. Before the documents on which Lord Castlereagh formed his opinion had been submitted to the Court of Directors, Mr. Sheridan proposed a parliamentary inquiry into the transaction; and consequently it would have been indecent in the Directors, as Mr. Grant justly said, to give an opinion upon it pending the proceedings in Parliament.

THE END.













